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BASIL LANNEAU GILDERSLEEVE

HONORARY FRANCIS WHITE PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

AND

CHARLES WILLIAM EMIL MILLER

PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

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WHOLE No. 151.

I.—THE PLOT OF THE EPIDICUS.

The plot of the Epidicus has long been a puzzle to scholars. Joseph Scaliger, in 1558, was the first to note difficulties in the play and the problem was touched upon in 1913 by Friedrich Leo.¹ Between these two extremes lies the work of a long line of scholars, but the most important contributions have been made since the time of Ladewig (1841). All the more serious difficulties are probably known, but it is only within the last twenty-five years that solutions have been proposed which may be taken as the basis of a fresh examination of the whole problem. By criticizing and extending the work already accomplished and by bringing to bear upon it some new points of view it is now possible, in my opinion, to formulate a more acceptable result than has hitherto been attained.

The plot is so complicated that a careful outline is necessary. The exposition consists of three scenes (vv. 1–180) the first of which is a dialogue between Epidicus and Thesprio, slaves from an Athenian household. Thesprio has just returned with his young master Stratippocles from the army which has been besieging Thebes. At his departure from Athens Stratippocles had commissioned Epidicus to secure for him a certain Acropolitis with whom at the time he was in love. Epidicus had accomplished this by persuading the young man's father to buy the girl in the belief that she was his long lost daughter (87–90). But Epidicus now learns from Thesprio that the fickle youth has fallen in love with a Theban captive—

¹ *Gesch. der röm. Litt.*, p. 133. For Scaliger's remarks see p. 246, n. 2.
16

quot illic homo animos habet? he exclaims in dismay. But Thesprio has more unpleasant news: that Stratippocles has borrowed the money (40 minae) with which to purchase his new flame from a money-lender at Thebes who is following him to Athens to collect the debt and hand over the girl. Ut ego interii basilice! is the cry of Epidicus, who forecasts the damage to his skin when his old master Periphanes discovers the first trick.

In the second scene Stratippocles appears with his friend Chaeribulus at whose house he is stopping in order to keep out of his father's sight until he can complete the purchase of his latest sweetheart. Like most young men in the plays Chaeribulus is 'broke' and quite unable to provide his friend with the necessary money. And so perforce they fall back on the wily resourcefulness of Epidicus. At this point the slave, who has been eavesdropping in the conventional manner, steps forward and, after some reproaches to his master and the usual threats on the latter's part, promises to cheat Periphanes (a second time) out of enough money to purchase the captive girl, if Stratippocles will keep out of his father's sight. He hints that Acropolitis, the pseudo-daughter of Periphanes and former love of Stratippocles, can be disposed of to a certain Euboicus miles (153).

The third scene introduces Periphanes and his old friend Apoecides. From the conversation of the old gentlemen we learn that Periphanes, whose wife is dead, contemplates marriage with a poor woman of good birth who had borne him a daughter—the very daughter whom he thinks he has purchased in the person of Acropolitis. Neither the mother nor the daughter are named at this point, but the old man is planning to marry off his son as soon as the latter returns, for he has heard that the youth in amore haerere apud nescioquam fidicinam. At about this point the action begins.

Epidicus overhears the old man's intentions concerning his son and makes it the basis of his trickery. He advises Periphanes—after much apparent diffidence at his own presumption in giving such advice!—to marry off Stratippocles and (as a preliminary) to purchase the youth's fidicina and sell her out of the lover's reach before he returns from Thebes. This proposal jumps with the old man's humor, for he does

not know that his son is already in Athens and that he himself has already purchased and has in his house his son's (former) sweetheart Acropolitis. Epidicus suggests that the purchase will be a good investment since a *miles Rhodius* (300) is dead in love with the girl and will take her off the old man's hands at an advanced price. It is arranged that Periphanes, to avoid arousing his son's suspicions, shall keep in the background, and that Epidicus and Apoecides (the latter to guarantee good faith) shall transact the bargain with the girl's master, the *leno*. Apoecides accordingly departs for the forum, Periphanes goes into his house for the money, and Epidicus (306 ff.), who must of course produce some girl to play the part of the supposed sweetheart, states that he will hire a fidicina and coach her (*praemonstrabitur*) how to fool Apoecides. Apparently, although this is not here stated, the girl is to submit to a sham purchase.

Thus Epidicus secures the money which he hands over at once to Stratippocles for the purchase of the Theban captive, with the characteristic trickster's remark, *Dum tibi ego placeam atque obsequar, meum tergum flocci facio!* He then professes to tell his plan to the young men, but it is safe to say that not even an intelligent audience, to say nothing of the rough crowd that viewed the plays in the second century before Christ, could understand this plan as it appears in our text (353-377). I shall return to this point later.

In the next scene (382 ff.) Apoecides brings from the forum the supposed sweetheart whom he thinks he has bought, but who has in reality been hired by Epidicus. She is the third young woman in the play and we shall call her the hired fidicina, since no name is given to her in our manuscripts. Apoecides had not seen the *leno* and (of course!) had not witnessed the transfer of any money, but he had heard Epidicus talk with the girl and he is full of compliments for the slave's cleverness (414 ff.) in making her believe herself hired to play at a sacrifice, not bought. The audience of course assumes in accordance with Epidicus's plan that she is acting in collusion with the trickster. It is therefore a good deal of a jolt when in the following scenes (475 ff.)—the beginning of the dénouement—both her words and actions absolutely contradict this assumption. The soldier appears with the intention of buying from

Periphanes the girl for whose favor he and Stratippocles had been rivals (really, of course, Acropolitis, the pseudo-daughter). When the hired fidicina is produced, whom the soldier indignantly rejects, she proves that she sincerely thought herself merely hired to play at a sacrifice for a senex whom she does not even know by name! The audience, therefore, must make a new assumption: that she too has been fooled by Epidicus.

But still more confusion is in store for Periphanes. No sooner has he driven away in a rage the hired fidicina than his own early flame Philippa arrives searching for her daughter (and his). In this scene (526 ff., the *ἀναγνώρισις*) and the following (570 ff.) we learn at last important facts of the old man's previous life—facts which belong to the preliminary history of the play: that he had loved Philippa in Epidaurus, that Telestis, their daughter whose name is now given, was born in Thebes, that he had never seen the girl since her early childhood, that Epidicus however had been in Thebes more recently, and that on Epidicus's authority he had learned that she was a captive and had, as he supposed, bought her. But when, to console the grief-stricken mother, he calls from the house this daughter (really pseudo-daughter Acropolitis) and when Philippa indignantly rejects her, his anger though pathetic is certainly comic (581 ff.):

Quid? ego lenocinium facio qui habeam alienas domi
Atque argentum egurgitem domo prosus? etc.

Acropolitis is amusingly impudent, but she makes a clean breast of everything and lays the blame where it belongs—on Epidicus. Thus the first trick—the trick which had been already accomplished when the play opened—is revealed.

Little more remains. The old men buy straps and set out to find Epidicus, but that worthy saves himself by 'recognizing' in his young master's latest love (the captive girl), Telestis, his old master's daughter—not a very valuable service since the discovery is inevitable. The ecstasy of Stratippocles is of course short-lived, and he says resignedly (652),

Perdidisti et pepperisti me, soror,
to which the unfeeling slave rejoins

Stultus: tace.
Tibi quidem quod ames domi praestost—fidicina—opera mea,

a suggestion that the young man may transfer his affections back to Acropolitis!

The play ends with the pardon and manumission of Epidicus, both richly undeserved, and the result is well summed up in the line,

Hic is homost qui libertatem malitia invenit sua.

One who has had the patience to follow the preceding outline will realize the extremely involved nature of the plot. But the plot is not merely involved; it is full of difficulties and obscurities even for the most superficial reader. To these more or less obvious difficulties careful study has of course added many more which are not so obvious. I shall first attempt to state and, so far as possible, classify these difficulties.

The main problem will be simplified by eliminating in the first place a number of defects which may be regarded as of no importance. In v. 14 Thesprio is represented as returning home by way of the *portus*, but in vv. 217, 221—where, to be sure, Epidicus is lying—the soldiers including Stratippocles are returning by way of the *porta*. It is easy to alter the text of v. 14 (so Ussing, Goetz) and the conjecture is attractive because in v. 217, where only *portam* is possible, the manuscripts have both *portam* and *portum*. But the contradiction may be attributed with equal probability to Plautine carelessness¹ and the tendency of recent editors is to leave the text unchanged, cf. Leo, Goetz-Schoell, Lindsay, Goetz.

The passages alluding to the sums of money paid for the slave girls are not consistent (53 f., 122, 141–142, 252, 347, 366, 406 ff., 467, 646 f., 703). Two girls were purchased, Acropolitis and Telestis, and we should regard the inconsistency as of no importance² if vv. 363–370 did not indicate that the sums ought to agree.³ The price of Acropolitis is stated by Peri-

¹ Langrehr (*Miscellanea philologa*, 1876, p. 17) noted that in the Amph. Plautus makes Thebes a seaport! Langen (*Plautin. Studien*, 1886, p. 138) remarks that the Greek model may have had no specific word at this point.

² This is the general view, cf. Langrehr, op. cit., p. 16, Langen, op. cit., p. 139.

³ Ladewig (*Zeitschr. f. die Alt.*, 1841, col. 1089) notes several of these discrepancies and cites Taubmann who believed that in v. 366 Epid. is

phanes (the highest authority!) as 30 minae (703) and Epidicus agrees, but at v. 366 her value is 50 minae. The Theban captive (*Telestis*) cost Stratippocles 40 minae (53 f.) together with interest at the rate of a nummus per diem per minam. The interest is later merely alluded to in general terms (252, 296, 306) or entirely forgotten (122, 141 f., 296 ad quadraginta, 646, 708), and Epidicus actually secures 50 minae (347, 467). But the arithmetic of Plautus is usually very bad.

At v. 107 Stratippocles has told Chaeribus that the captiva (*Telestis*) is genere prognatam bono. Langrehr argued that since Stratippocles knew the girl to be of good birth, he must have known her to be his sister. Schredinger and Langen denied this (rightly), and in his later work Langrehr so far receded from his view as to say that at least the poet ought to tell us how Stratippocles got his knowledge of the girl's birth. On this we may remark that the youth may have known her good birth, her true name, and even her father's name without suspecting that she was related to him, since Periphanes had naturally concealed the whole affair from him, cf. 166 ff. The point is not a serious one in the Latin play, but the passage has some bearing on the nature of the Greek original (see p. 249).

Periphanes and Apoecides do not seem to notice or even to be aware of the bustle caused by the return of the soldiers from Thebes (208 ff.). Langen¹ finds difficulty in this, since they know that Stratippocles is with the army. It is however an unimportant detail.

Langen¹ suspects *retractatio* in the long passage on woman's dress (225 ff.). *Retractatio* has not been proved, in my opinion, and at any rate the passage has no bearing on the difficulties of the plot.

Like every other play of Plautus the Epidicus is often repetitious and numerous passages have been suspected by various scholars on this account. The tendency of recent Plautine scholarship is to abandon such criticism. A good illustration of

merely boasting and that in vv. 364 ff. he plans to go to the leno and instruct him to say that *to-day* he has received 50 minae so that the sum will tally with that just given to Epid., if the old men question the leno.

¹ *Plaut. Stud.*, p. 144.

the changed attitude may be found by comparing Goetz's *Ditto-graphien im Plautustexte* (1875) and the same scholar's major edition of the *Epidicus* (1878) with the minor edition of Goetz-Schoell (1895) and the second edition of the *Epidicus* (1902). After twenty-five years Goetz admits the genuineness of nearly all the passages which he formerly suspected. Leo (1895) and Lindsay (1905) also bracket very few passages.¹ The suspected passages which affect the plot will be considered at the proper places.

But there are serious difficulties. Among these I shall include some which, although unimportant in themselves, nevertheless may have some bearing on the more important.

When the play opens Periphanes has already been tricked by Epidicus into the purchase of Acropolitis (his son's amica) in the belief that she is his daughter. How was the old man persuaded that she was his daughter? This question is not answered by the expository portion of the play and remains unanswered until vv. 564-566 from which we learn that Epidicus had told Periphanes that his daughter had been captured and was in Athens, and vv. 635 ff., from which we assume that Epidicus had been in Thebes recently enough to be able to recognize Telestis.

Periphanes planned to marry Philippa (166 ff.), but there is no further reference to this important feature of the plot—not even when Philippa and Periphanes meet and recognize each other (526 ff.).² Before this scene we do not know that Periphanes had ever been in Thebes or Epidaurus, and the only information vouchsafed by the poet concerning the old man's past life is that he had a daughter by a poor woman of good birth and that he believes himself to have purchased that daughter through the agency of Epidicus.

¹ Goetz-Schoell mark as *retractatio* vv. 431-434, and as interpolated vv. 109-111, 353 (but cf. Leo's punctuation), 384 f. (in part), 419, 518-520. Goetz (1902) marks as *retract.* vv. 431-434, and as *interpol.* 353, 384 f. (in part), 419. Leo brackets 385, 393, 518-520. Lindsay brackets 384 f. (in part), 419.

² Ladewig first called attention to this omission (*op. cit.*, col. 1086 f.), adding that the gifts taken to Telestis by Epidicus (639-640) were probably sent by Periphanes and that the slave's lie about her capture roused the old man's memories of Philippa. The verb *afferre* (639) lends some support to the first suggestion.

A marriage is being planned for Stratippocles in the early part of the play (190, 267, 283, 361), but there is no reference to it later,¹ indeed the only reference to the young man's future is Epidicus's hint (653) that he may console himself for the loss of Telestis by returning to Acropolitis, his discarded flame.

The allusions to the *leno* cause difficulties (274 f., 288 f., 294 f., 364–370, 410–421, 445–501). In accordance with the first three passages Apoecides and Epidicus are to go to the *leno* and purchase the *fidicina* whom, as Epidicus falsely asserts, Stratippocles loves. The *leno* is apparently the same from whom Acropolitis had been purchased two days before, for this is implied by Epidicus (364–370) who intends to deceive him into making a statement to the old men (should they approach him after the transaction)² which will be taken by them as a guarantee that he has just received 50 *mina* for the *fidicina*, whereas he himself means the money which he received two days earlier for Acropolitis. But the plan, whatever its exact nature, was not carried out,³ for the accounts of Apoecides (410–421) and of the *fidicina* (495–501, cf. 486–487) show that Apoecides did not see⁴ the *leno* at all and there is no reference to an interrogation of him by anybody. Since Apoecides went along with Epidicus when the money for the *fidicina* was carried to the *leno* (291 f., 295, 303–305, 374, 410–421), an important part of the slave's plan must have consisted in convincing Apoecides that the money (which was really handed over to Stratippocles) had been paid to the *leno*, but we are not told how the deception of Apoecides was accomplished. The *senex* was certainly hoodwinked in some way about the money, but the only part of the transaction that he reports concerns the hiring or, as he thinks, the purchase of the *fidicina*.

¹ Langrehr first noted this and explained it as one of the results of *contaminatio* (*op. cit.*, pp. 11, 16). See p. 249 below.

² This is R. Mueller's interpretation (*De Plauti Epidico*, 1865), and it seems to be the essential meaning of line 365, whether we retain the manuscript reading *si quod ad eum adveniam* (with Leo) or adopt Camerarius's *Siqui ad eum adveniant* (with Goetz-Schoell), for in either case the *leno* is to say (*dicat*) that he has received money, etc. The sums do not agree since the price of Acropolitis was thirty *mina* according to the best authority (703).

³ Ladewig first noted this, *op. cit.*, col. 1087.

⁴ Langrehr, *Miscell. Philol.*, pp. 13–14.

(410-421). This difficulty naturally suggests those which concern the girl herself.

The fidicina is alluded to or actually appears (in vv. 287-305, 313-318, 364-376, 411-420, 495-516). Epidicus's plan is clear enough. The old men have heard that Stratippocles is in love with a fidicina (191), and Epidicus plans to hire a fidicina whom he will instruct beforehand how to deceive the old men by pretending that she has been bought (312-318, 371-376). The account of Apoecides (411-420) is in harmony with this, i. e. if the fidicina has been coached beforehand by Epidicus, the old man's words merely indicate that she plays her part so well that he believes her a dupe of Epidicus. But the girl's own actions and words, when she appears (495 ff.), contradict the plan: she believes herself hired to play at a sacrifice¹ for an old man (500 f.), she has not even heard the name of Apoecides (496), and she does not know that she is talking with the very Periphanes about whose son she has heard gossip (508). Far from playing the conspirator, as the plan demanded, she acts as though she herself were a dupe.² There is therefore either a change of plan, i. e. Epidicus had not coached but had deceived her, or else she suddenly decides to tell the truth when the words of the soldier show (475 ff.) that the jig is up.³ In neither case is there any hint of the change.

¹ Did Periphanes contemplate any sacrifice at all? At v. 314 Epid. debating what fidicina to show to Apoecides, apparently refers to a sacrifice for which Periphanes had ordered him to hire a fidicina and he determines to palm this girl off on Apoecides as the supposed *amica* of Stratippocles. If a real sacrifice was being arranged, then the girl was actually hired, as she says (500), and Apoecides was witnessing a *bona fide* transaction (411 ff.), although he believed the girl a dupe. But at v. 416 both old men seem to take Epidicus's statement to the girl (that she was being hired) as a clever lie, and Epid. certainly gave a wrong reason for a sacrifice (for the son's safe return), since early in the day, cf. mane (314), the old men did not know that Stratippocles would return that day. Or do they regard only this *reason* as a lie? Langrehr meets the difficulty by regarding 'mane . . . sibi' (314-316) as a quotation, i. e. Epid. quotes what he will say to Apoecides. This would eliminate the sacrifice entirely. Dziatzko's view is preferable, see p. 249.

² Langrehr noted most of the difficulties, op. cit., pp. 11 ff. Cf. also Scaliger, note 5 below.

³ So Langen, who admits however that she ought to say something to indicate her change of heart just as Acropolitis makes a clean breast

The discrepancies connected with the rôle of the soldier were the chief cause of Ladewig's theory of *contaminatio*:¹ in v. 153 he is Euboicus miles, in v. 300 he is Rhodius. And there are other difficulties involving both the soldier and Acropolitis. How can Epidicus plan (153-155) that Stratippocles shall sell Acropolitis to a soldier when she is at the time regarded by Periphanes as his daughter² and had certainly been manumitted?³ How does the soldier know⁴ that she is in the house of Periphanes (438, 457), and if she had been his amica (457), why did Stratippocles (153 ff.) know nothing about him? The soldier disappears absolutely from the play without obtaining any satisfaction (492) and the only allusion to the fate of Acropolitis is the hint that Stratippocles may return to her (653). It has also been objected that Periphanes, for one who has just recovered a long lost daughter, pays Acropolitis scant attention.⁵

The foregoing outline shows that the Epidicus contains many serious difficulties, and there has been a general disposition to regard it as obscure and too brief for so complicated a plot and so many characters. Necessary parts of the preliminary history are omitted or referred to very late in the play, trickery is planned, at times obscurely, and then changed without warning or dropped entirely, plans for coming action are

of her guile (591 ff.) in a similar situation. He assumes a lacuna after v. 495 in which there was an aside by the girl: *actum est, etc.*

¹ Op. cit., col. 1089.

² Goetz (1878), pp. xxi-xxii, cites from a copy of Camerarius's Basel ed. of 1558 a note by Scaliger on v. 417, 'At quomodo potuit eam emere Apoecides?' and on the lower margin, *Pessima οἰκονομία*. Nam aut virgo est aut fidicina conductitia quam adducit Apoecides. Si virgo est, ut verisimile est, non emetur. Quomodo domo auferatur ut conductitia illi supponatur? Nam Epidicus abest. Si autem conductitia, quomodo emi potuit, cum ipsamet neget se eo die emi potuisse et quinquennio ante manumissam? O. Crusius discovered in a Paris manuscript another note on vv. 151 ff. in which Scaliger remarked the difficulty of getting rid of Acropolitis when Periphanes was treating her as his daughter, cf. Goetz, ibid. liv.

³ The only direct statement that she had been manumitted is gossip (507 f.), but since Periph. believed her to be his daughter, he must have manumitted her, cf. Scaliger, preceding note.

⁴ Langrehr, op. cit., p. 15.

⁵ Langrehr, Plautina, 1886, p. 17. But cf. Rud. 1204 f.

not carried out, and the close of the play fails to satisfy the demands of the situation which has been created.

The mass of contradictions, inconsistencies, and improbabilities in the plays of Plautus may be attributed to several general causes: the methods of Plautus himself, who was in many matters very careless; the phenomena of *retractatio*, which is a convenient term for all the changes made by those who produced the plays, and especially by those who revived them in later generations;¹ the interpolations which crept into the text after the plays ceased to be acted, i. e. chiefly during the period of the empire;² and the accidents which befell the text in the process of its transmission. One who studies the difficulties must bear in mind all these possible causes with their variations, and it will simplify our examination of the Epidicus if we can exclude any of them. It may be said at once that interpolation in the sense referred to has had no appreciable effect upon the

¹ It is probable that every play underwent changes even at its first presentation, after it had left the hands of Plautus, and the changes during the poet's lifetime may have been considerable, although the great revival seems to have occurred about a generation after his death, cf. Cas. prolog. Since it is usually impossible to fix the date of alterations due to *retractatio*, it is better to include under the term all phenomena which can be assigned to revisers of the plays while they were living dramas, in distinction from those which are attributable to Plautus's original version or to the scholarly activity of later ages.

² In this general classification I am assuming that the Greek originals were as free from serious defects in art as one can reasonably expect of comedy. Professor Prescott has recently questioned the correctness of this assumption (Cl. Philol. XI, 1916, 125 ff.), reminding us—quite properly—that it is dangerous to assume that all the writers of the *réa* were as careful as Menander. But in his tendency to attribute clumsy composition, etc., to the Greek poets, Professor Prescott seems to me to go to the other extreme and assume a degree of deficiency on their part which is just as unlikely as the assumption which he combats. There can be no doubt, it seems to me, that Philemon, Diphilus, and the rest resembled Menander and Terence much more closely than they resembled Plautus. I am speaking of course in very general terms; the resemblance would be closer, for example, in plays in which stories of a serious type were presented (the originals of the Rudens or the Epid.), far less close in those of a farcical character (original of the Most.). But the question is too large for discussion here, especially since Professor Prescott has promised additional evidence in support of his view. The present article was complete in its main outlines before Professor Prescott's views appeared.

plot of the Epidicus. Of the methods of Plautus himself one which has been a fruitful cause of difficulties is *contaminatio*, the dovetailing of parts taken from two or more originals into one play. The defects of the Epidicus have been attributed, in part at least, to *contaminatio* by several scholars, but the play lacks two of the most striking features of a contaminated play—excessive length and traces of two plots. The Epidicus has 733 verses; no certainly contaminated play has much less than a thousand lines, e. g. the Andria and Adelphoe have 981 and 997 lines respectively, and each of the plays which best illustrate the process in Plautus, the Miles and the Poenulus, is nearly twice as long as the Epidicus. This point is of course not conclusive in itself, but when we add the fact that there are not clear evidences of two plots imperfectly joined in the Epidicus, the process of *contaminatio* becomes a very unlikely explanation of the difficulties of this play. As Langen¹ has pointed out, the two plots which the upholders of *contaminatio* find in this play are so well combined that it is impossible to separate them. In other words *contaminatio* must be demonstrated in Plautus by means of imperfect sutures in the plays themselves, since there is no Donatus, as in the case of Terence, to give us information which we could not reasonably infer from the text alone.

The defects of the Epidicus, therefore, if attributable to Plautus himself, must be due to some process different from *contaminatio*. But *contaminatio* is only one of the many methods employed by Plautus in dealing with his Greek originals, and in the Epidicus certain difficulties can be traced, thanks to the results of a brilliant article by Karl Dziatzko,² to the freedom with which Plautus treated the Greek original of the play.

Dziatzko, approaching the Epidicus from the point of view of one who was seeking analogies for an outline of Menander's Georgos, argued convincingly that Plautus has based his play

¹ Plaut. Stud., pp. 146–147. Langen remarks that in both the Miles and Poen. the two lines of trickery are directed towards the same object; in the Epid. towards different objects, and the first deception is already completed when the play opens.

² Der Inhalt des Georgos von Menander, Rhein. Mus. LIV (1899), 497 ff., ibid. LV (1900), 104 ff.

on a Greek model in which the complications ended in the marriage of a brother to his half-sister (*όμοπατρία*).¹ Such marriages although not common were countenanced by Greek law, but were regarded by the Romans as incest. Therefore Plautus could not present such a plot to his Roman audience and was forced to alter it in such a way that all reference to this kind of marriage was removed.

Dzitzko has thus supplied us with a motive which explains many of the peculiarities of the Epidicus, and he himself pointed out that on this hypothesis we understand why the preparations for Stratippocles's marriage come to naught. At v. 190 Periphanes is planning to marry off the youth just as soon as he returns. In the original at this point probably the bride's name, i. e. the name of the *όμοπατρία* occurred. The wedding is referred to at vv. 267, 283, 361—naturally in the Latin play without mentioning the bride's name. The proposed sacrifice of Periphanes (316, 415, 500) is probably a remnant of what was in the Greek one of the preparations for the wedding. Moreover Stratippocles is represented as very much in love with Telestis (54, 133, 148, 362 ff.)—a fact which would naturally precede a happy marriage—but Plautus breaks this off abruptly and lamely (652). If Periphanes had some other girl in mind for his son, the plan ought to be carried out, since the affair with Acropolitistis was displeasing to him.

¹ For the Greek attitude towards such marriages, Dzitzko referred to H. Blümner, Gr. Privatalt., 1882, pp. 260 ff., and Schoemann-Lipsius, Gr. Alt. I (1897), 375. Kretschmar (De Menandi reliquiis nuper repertis, 1906, pp. 16 f.) supplies a number of actual cases: Nepos, Cimon, I, 1-2, Habebat autem in matrimonio sororem germanam suam, nomine Elpinicen, non magis amore quam more ductus: namque Atheniensibus licet eodem patre natas uxores ducere.

Plutarch, Themistocles, 32, Θυγατέρας δὲ πλείους έσχεν, ὃν Μνησιππολέμαν μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγαμθείσης γενομένην Ἀρχέπτολις ὁ ἀδελφὸς οὐκ ὃν διομήτριος ἔγγιμεν.

Minucius Felix, Oct. 31, 3, ius est apud Persas misceri cum matribus, Aegyptiis et Atheniensibus cum sororibus legitima conubia. (This is not accurate. Minucius is attacking pagan customs.) Add Seneca, Apocol. 8, Athenis dimidium licet, Alexandriae totum. (Seneca is speaking of the supposed relations of Silanus with his sister.) Probably the sister marriages of the Ptolemies were an outgrowth in part of this custom, cf. e. g. Theoc. XVII, 130.

For the Roman attitude, cf. Marquardt, Privatleben, I, pp. 30 ff.

This hypothesis accounts also for the difficulties connected with the soldier and Acropolitis. In the Latin play there is a reference to the sale of Acropolitis to the soldier (153 ff., cf. 300 ff., where Periphanes is willing to sell his son's amica, although he does not yet know that he has already bought her, and 437 ff., where he tries to sell her to the soldier). If we assume that in the Greek play she was actually sold or, if manumitted, turned over to the soldier, we can understand the facts as given in the Epidicus, i. e. Plautus having dispensed with the marriage of Stratippocles to his half-sister wished to make some provision, however lame, for the youth and so reserved Acropolitis for him (653). This would explain the contradictions noted above between the plans concerning Acropolitis and the failure to carry them out. It would explain also, although this is not in itself a serious difficulty, why the soldier is left without satisfaction.

The missing details of the preliminary history were presented according to Dziatzko, in a monologue of the Greek play spoken by Periphanes just before v. 166. Plautus omitted this monologue because it was concerned chiefly with the proposed marriage of Stratippocles.

The Greek original was not, on Dziatzko's hypothesis, a mere comedy of intrigue; characterization was prominent, and Periphanes was the chief figure, cf. the traces left at 166 ff., 382 ff., 526 ff. He atoned for his former sins by marrying Philippa and by the marriage between his children. Plautus has diverted attention from the obscurities and inconsistencies resulting from his treatment of this original by inserting into the midst of the action the figure of Epidicus, through whose wit a solution of the conflicting interests is effected, cf. 732,

hic is homost qui libertatem malitia invenit sua—

a line which in the best manuscript is assigned to the poet. Remarking that the Epidicus is an excellent illustration of the independence which Plautus might exercise, if he chose, in the treatment of a Greek original Dziatzko suggests that the poet's liking for the play (Bacch. 214 f.) may have been due to his consciousness of this independence.

Dziatzko's theory is thus a thoroughgoing effort to attribute the difficulties of the play—apart from some minor accidents

to the text—to Plautus himself.¹ He has certainly given the right answer to some of the most important questions, but his sweeping assignment of all the difficulties to one general cause is not adequately supported and can be disproved, I believe, in important particulars. He has in fact confused two questions: (1) How far does the Epidicus represent its Greek original? and (2) Is the Epidicus in its present form Plautine? He has answered the first question in the main correctly, but in attempting to include in it an answer to the second he has not only gone too far but has failed to supply the sort of evidence that we need. Before we can say with any degree of confidence that the Epidicus in its present form is essentially Plautine we must determine the method of Plautus in dealing with motives and situations of the same type as those which appear in this play. But first let us indicate the points which Dziatzko's theory does not explain, criticizing at the same time some details of his work.

The lack of necessary information concerning the early life of Periphanes which seems such a serious defect in the exposition is due, according to Dziatzko, to the excision by Plautus of a monologue of the Greek play which was so full of references to the proposed marriage between Stratippocles and the δημοπατρία that the Roman poet could not use it. But why could he not make use of those facts which we need to know—the visit of Periphanes to Epidaurus, the birth of Telestis in Thebes, etc.—without at the same time using the marriage motif? He has in fact given this information late in the play (540 ff., 554, 635 ff.) and we must conclude that he could have given it in the exposition,² the place where we expect to find it whether it is repeated late in the play or not.³

¹ Dziatzko rejects *contaminatio*, *retractatio*, and the theory, urged chiefly by Leo, that the Epid. once had a prologue.

² If vv. 87 ff. represent a corresponding passage at approximately the same point in the Greek play, Dziatzko's assumption that the requisite Vorgeschichte occurred in a monologue of Periphanes just before vv. 166 ff. is untenable, for vv. 87 ff. imply that at least part of the information (the story of Telestis's birth) has preceded. This part therefore could not have been *first* presented in a monologue which *followed* vv. 87 ff., see also pp. 256 ff.

³ I assume for the moment that Graeco-Roman technique required that such information should be given in the *expositio*, cf. Leo, Plaut.

Moreover Dziatzko's theory, although it accounts for the dropping of the plans for Stratippocles's marriage (including perhaps the lame conclusion of his fate)¹ and for the difficulties connected with the soldier and Acropolitis, does not account for the failure of Periphanes to marry Philippa and especially for the very obscure and inconsistent trickery of the play. These difficulties still remain unless we assume that Plautus wrote more briefly, more carelessly, more obscurely in this play than in any other. The question is not whether the play is sufficiently intelligible to satisfy the requirements of an audience seeking mere amusement, for the play could be acted and probably was once acted in essentially its present form, but whether its difficulties are such as Plautus himself would have permitted in one of his compositions. The standard to be applied is not that of the *réa* nor, except indirectly, that of an audience or reader—even a Roman audience or reader—but the standard of Plautus himself. He learned his literary art chiefly from the *réa* and he had to please a certain rude type of audience, but we must determine what his actual methods were from a study of all his own plays. If the Epidicus were unique in its content and motives, it would be difficult to apply this standard, but it is not unique. It has a number of typical features: the familiar love affair between a wild young man and a slave girl (here two girls), the father who has sinned in his youth and has an illegitimate daughter, the slave who cheats his old master out of money in order to aid the love of his young master, a leno, a soldier, and finally the familiar *ávayvápios* (here appearing in a double form).

For light upon the defects of the exposition one turns naturally to other plays which develop to an *ávayvápios*: *Captivi*,

Forsch.², 199 (on the Epid.), and in general Chapp. III-IV; Legrand, Daos, 490 ff. For the detailed support of this point so far as Plautus is concerned see pp. 254 ff.

¹The futures of young men are summarily disposed of without marriage in the *Most.* (1164), *Adel.* 997, cf. *Phorm.* 1036-1046, but we expect some authoritative person and not a slave to say the final words. Similarly we should not find difficulty in the practical neglect of Acropolitis if she were not so intimately connected with Periphanes. *Philematium* in the *Most.* is absolutely dropped and *Anterastylis* in the *Poen.*, though recognized as freeborn, is left without a husband or a lover. But neither of these ladies plays quite the same rôle as Acropolitis and we miss at least some final words from Periphanes about her.

Casina, Cistellaria, Curculio, Menaechmi, Poenulus, Rudens, and Vidularia. Two of these, Cistellaria and Vidularia, on account of their fragmentary condition are of little service,¹ but an examination of the rest yields important results.

Leo has emphasized the fact that with two exceptions all these plays are provided with an expository prologue spoken by somebody not connected with the action, i. e. since there is always a previous history, Plautus and probably his originals think it necessary to place the situation clearly before the audience. Thus in six cases out of eight the chief means employed by Plautus is the expository prologue. Leo indeed pushes this point to its extreme logical conclusion and infers that the Curculio and the Epidicus, the two exceptions, once had prologues.² He admits that Terence uses no expository prologue for plays of this type and that the Curculio needs none, and he states the possibility that in these two plays Plautus may have wished the *āvayvāpios* to come as a surprise. He prefers to assume the loss of prologues because of two important facts: the serious obscurities of the Epidicus in its present form, and the failure, in the Curculio, to mention Epidaurus as the scene of the play until v. 341.

Leo's theory must be admitted to be possible, but it is far from probable even in the case of the Curculio and still less probable for the Epidicus. The Curculio may be considered, as Leo saw, an anticipation of the Terentian method;³ the addition of a prologue would simply make clearer a play that is already clear. But no prologue can easily be conceived which would remove all the obscurities of the Epidicus. I shall return to the Curculio below. Meanwhile if we compare the exposition of the Epidicus with the expository portions, both prologue and early scenes, of the other plays of this group,

¹ It should be noted, however, that both these plays have prologues, and that the prologue of the Cist. (120–148, 149–202) provides a thorough exposition, although we cannot follow the development within the play. Selenium, the heroine, is much like Telestis: she is *pudica* (100), as all heroines of this type must be except so far as the lover is concerned, cf. Poen., Rud., Aul., Andr.; she is 'recognized', but not by a brother.

² So Legrand, Daos, 490 ff., 504.

³ The play would be an exception, on this hypothesis, to Leo's rule that when the scene is not Athens, the fact must be mentioned in a prologue; Plaut. Forsch.², 199 f.

the Epidicus proves to be obscure and therefore abnormal. A few words will suffice to show how Plautus usually deals with the kind of information which is lacking in the exposition of the Epidicus—the early history of heroines like Telestis.

In the Cistellaria the story of Selenium's birth, the same story as that of the birth of Telestis, is told in the leno's speech (123–148) and in that of Auxilium (156–196).¹ The same is true of Casina, the heroine of the Casina, cf. prolog. 39–46, 79–81. The *ἀναγνώρισις* of this play has been reduced to the lowest terms (1013–1014),² but the omission of details causes no obscurities. In the Poenulus the whole story of Anterastylis and Adelphasium, the two girls who are about to become meretrices, is told in the prologue vv. 59–122; cf. Rudens, prolog. 35 ff., for the early history of Palaestra.

Among the plays containing recognition scenes, therefore, the Curculio affords the best opportunity for comparison with the Epidicus, since both plays lack prologues. There is in the Curculio no preparation for the *ἀναγνώρισις*, although the exposition is clear in all other respects. If then we were to assume, against Leo, that this play never had a prologue, we should have, in the failure to prepare for the *ἀναγνώρισις*, the best analogy to the Epidicus. Nevertheless I cannot believe that the analogy would be cogent. The early history of Planesium is not an essential feature of the first 532 lines of the play, in which her soldier brother does not appear. In this part of the play the interest centers in Curculio and his wiles, and Curculio knows nothing about the secret of Planesium's birth. In the Epidicus on the other hand the trickster Epidicus is not only the one person who knows all those who take part in the *ἀναγνώρισις*, but he has made use of his knowledge to deceive his old master into the purchase of a girl whom he believes, because of this knowledge, to be his daughter (87 ff., 598 ff.). The trickster and his tricks, therefore, are in this play inextricably connected with the story of those who take part in the

¹ If vv. 125, 130–132 were added by *retractatores* in order that Auxilium's speech might be omitted (Leo, Lindsay), the resultant shortening would illustrate the process which may have caused many of the obscurities in the Epidicus—a willingness to dispense with all but the bare essentials.

² Cf. Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.*, 207 f., Röm. Litt., 127 f., Cantica, 104–106.

ἀναγνώρισις. Moreover Periphanes in the early part of the play knows where Philippa is and is planning to marry her (166 ff.), so that the possibility of an intention on the part of Plautus to present a surprise *ἀναγνώρισις*, like that in the Curculio, is precluded. Among the plays having *ἀναγνώρισις* the Epidicus is unique in this employment of the trickster's knowledge of the heroine's story as a basis for deception. The closest resemblance to this peculiarity occurs in the Poenulus (787 ff.), where Syncerastus, the slave of the leno, informs Milphio, the trickster, that the two supposed meretrices are in reality free-born girls (894 ff.) and suggests that Agorastocles, the lover, can make use of this knowledge to ruin the leno. Milphio accepts the suggestion and plans that Hanno shall personate the father of the girls, but it is unnecessary to complete the trick since Hanno proves in fact to be their father—unnecessary in any event since the leno is already in the power of Agorastocles.¹ Moreover the Poenulus has a prologue.

But although the Epidicus is unique in its inextricable combination of trickery with the preliminary history when that history concerns the heroine's birth, there are several plays in which the preliminary history, of a different type indeed, involves trickery. These plays resemble the Epidicus only in the point that deception of some kind has been accomplished before the play opens. It is possible therefore to determine Plautus's treatment of this element.

At the opening of the Amphitruo Jupiter and Mercury have assumed respectively the likenesses of Amphitruo and Sosia. Minute information on this point is given in the prologue, vv. 115–147, even to distinctive ornaments which shall be visible to the spectators only (142–145), so that they may not confuse the gods with the mortals! The lengthening of the night and the stealing of King Pterela's bowl, both of which are promi-

¹ Milphio differs from Epidicus in that he avails himself of information given by somebody else, but it is the same kind of information. The Truculentus also resembles the Epid. in one important point: the assumption until very late in the play (825) of a fact usually given in a prologue—that Diniarchus has wronged the daughter of Calicles. This omission produces obscurity at v. 771, etc. But the resemblance is due to accident for it is practically certain that the needed information has fallen out of the prologue, cf. the lacuna after v. 17. See Leo, Plaut. Forsch.², p. 206.

nent features of the deception, are also carefully made known to the audience (prolog. 113 f., 138 f.). Moreover there are many resumptive references to all these features within the body of the play in order that the audience may by no possibility become confused, cf. 265-269 (Mercury has assumed the likeness of Sosia), 470 (Mercury will continue his deception), 497 (Mercury announces the entrance of the spurious Amphitruo in a scene which is in fact a sort of second prologue), 277-290 (the night is longer than usual), etc.

Similarly in the *Captivi*, *Miles*, *Rudens*, and *Menaechmi* parts of the deception have been accomplished or bases for deception exist before the play opens, and in every case the situation is carefully explained both in the prologue and within the body of the play.¹ The evidence is, therefore, that when a deception has been carried out before the play opens, Plautus avails himself of a prologue and even repeats essential points within the play proper. The *Epidicus* is in fact the only play of Plautus (lacking a prologue) in which such a deception is mentioned without elucidation.² Thus everything that we know about the manner of Plautus precludes the view that the meager reference at v. 87 f. to a trick already accomplished can be taken as an anticipation of the Terentian technique. If Plautus had wished for once to abandon his usual practice and dispense with a prologue, he would not have been satisfied with so brief a reference as that in the *Epidicus*. The conclusion is inevitable that Plautus himself included in the play an adequate exposition of this trick and that vv. 87-88 are a resumptive reference³ to that exposition, i. e. that the real

¹Cf. *Capt.*, prolog. 35 ff. (man and master have exchanged clothes and names), cf. 223 ff., etc. *Miles*, prolog. 138 ff. (the secret passage has been constructed), cf. 181 f., 187 f., etc. At 145 ff. the fooling of Sceledrus is announced *before* any reason for it has arisen! *Rud.*, prolog. 43 ff. (the leno has tried to give Plesidippus the slip). *Menaech.*, prolog. 17 ff. (the resemblance of the twins which is the basis of the complications). *Cas.*, prolog. 50 ff. (plans of the opposing forces for winning Casina). The *Casina* is the play concerning whose revival the best evidence exists. If the revivalists altered the play, they have certainly avoided obscurities.

²In the *Phormio* of Terence the trick by which the marriage of Antipho is effected has been accomplished before the play opens, but Terence, as is well known, relies on his *expositio* to present all parts of the situation, cf. for this case vv. 124-136.

³Cf. the references n. 1 (above). The *Miles* offers the best analogy. Everything necessary to understand the secret passageway and its use

exposition once preceded the remnant now existing. Analogy indicates that this exposition was contained in a prologue and this inference is supported by the fact that there is no suitable place for it within the first scene unless we assume that it was originally included in the monologue of Epidicus (81 ff.) and that vv. 87-88 are a later substitution or a 'cut' by *retractatores*, and so the only remnant of the Plautine version.

But if Dziatzko's hypothesis and the loss of a prologue or some other expository passage account for a number of the difficulties, several still remain to be explained, see p. 251 f. The first of these is the failure to state that Periphanes carried out his intention of marrying Philippa. This omission causes no obscurity, and when a plot has developed in such a way as to make a certain result a foregone conclusion, the result itself is often stated in summary fashion.¹ The development of the Epidicus brings both Philippa and her daughter into the house of Periphanes (601, 657), and we know the old man's intention (168-172). A few words would have sufficed to state the result, and it is not in accordance with ancient technique to omit these few words. It is impossible to say definitely whether Plautus himself neglected to add such a passage or whether it has been omitted by those who cut the play in later times, but the second hypothesis is much more probable since there is no analogy for such an omission in the case of a major character.²

The obscurities connected with the trickery constitute one of the most serious difficulties of the play. Excluding the first trick, which has already been discussed, the object and methods of the deception within the play are quite normal and it is possible to compare the Epidicus in these respects with several other plays. The trickster plans and carries out a scheme by which he secures money from his old master to aid his young

is carefully made known (prolog. vv. 136-153), so that later brief references are enough, e. g. *res palamst* (173), the gestures used with *hicine* (181), *transire huc* (182), cf. 187 f., 195, 199, 227, etc. The situations in the Amph. and the Capt. are so confusing and pervade the action so thoroughly that the resumptive references are more complete than Epid. 87 f.

¹ Cf. *Aul.* 793, *Cas.* 1012-1014, *Curc.* 728, *Poen.* 1278, etc.

² There is no case quite like that of Periphanes—a senex contemplating marriage with a woman whom he has wronged years before although such a marriage is presupposed in the *Cist.* (prolog. 177 ff.).

master's love affair. This type of deception is common enough, cf. *Bacchides*, *Persa*, *Pseudolus*, *Phormio*, etc. The methods also are common enough: lying and thieving—these go without saying—but especially the use of one person to represent another, the method of masquerading or personation. By lying Epidicus secures the money for the purchase, as Periphanes thinks, of the son's amica whom the old man intends to sell out of the son's reach. The slave must of course produce a girl to personate this supposed amica. For this purpose he secures the hired fidicina. In all this we do not demand that the object shall be a permanent or a worthy one nor even that the methods shall be very plausible. We are dealing with comedy, and we must not apply a high standard of probability to a form of art whose primary object was after all to raise a laugh. As a matter of fact the object of the deception in the *Epidicus* is wholly ephemeral, as is usual, and the old men are gullible enough. But we have a right to demand that the trick as a trick should be planned and executed clearly, else it fails in large measure to attain its humble object. If an audience does not fully understand a trick, the resultant laughter is not unmixed with bewilderment. Perspicuity, not probability, is the criterion. Did Plautus understand this? The only way to ascertain his convictions, as I have urged before, is to examine the plays.¹

The situation in the *Bacchides* closely resembles that in the *Epidicus*. Mnesilochus, like Stratippocles, returns from abroad during the course of the play and is assisted by his slave Chrysalus to secure money for the purchase of his amica, Bacchis. Moreover the money is secured from the young man's father by lying and by convincing him that the girl is the wife of a soldier, i. e. that she is what she is not, cf. the fidicina in the *Epidicus*. In fact the senex is fooled twice, for the son through mistaken jealousy of his friend Pistoclerus returns to his father the money which Chrysalus's first effort, mere lying, has placed at his disposal. The second trick is then planned and carried out before the eyes of the audience, aided of course by the opportune arrival of the soldier (842). The gullible

¹All the trickery in Plautus has a bearing of course, but an examination of the most closely analogous plays will suffice for my present purpose.

old man gives up 200 Philips to buy off the soldier (903) and another 200 which he is led to believe that his son has promised Bacchis (1059 ff.) before she leaves him. Thus there is a large amount of deception in the Bacchides but there is not one serious obscurity.¹

In the Persa the money with which Toxilus buys the freedom of his mistress from Dordalus, the leno, is obtained by simple theft. But the stolen money must be restored (324–327), and so Toxilus tells Dordalus that his master has just sent home a beautiful Persian captive and that she is for sale. Lucris, the daughter of Saturio, a parasite, is induced to play the rôle of the captive while Sagaristio, a friend of Toxilus, acts that of an attendant Persian selling agent. Dordalus falls into the trap and after he has paid over the purchase money, Saturio appears and hales him into court where of course the sale of a free girl is declared null and void. But since Dordalus has made the purchase *suo periclo* (524, 715), and since the Persian agent has departed to his ship (709 f.), he makes no attempt to recover his money.

The chief method of deception is here the same as in the Epidicus—personation; but it is planned and carried out with perfect clearness.² The audience is even told just how Sagar-

¹ I cannot agree with Leo (Röm. Litt., 119 f.) that the Bacch. is a contaminated play. There are really only two deceptions: (1) the lie about the pirate ship, and (2) the deception by which Nicobulus is convinced that Bacchis is the soldier's wife. The second deception is used *twice*, but the deception itself is one and indivisible. The only difficulty that affects the trickery in the slightest degree is the one noted by Langen at v. 347: that Chrysalus informs Nicobulus where Mnesilochus is, although the success of the first trick depends upon keeping father and son apart until Chrysalus can forewarn the son (366 f.). But, omitting possible explanations, the difficulty is not serious, for the audience learns almost immediately (390 ff.) that Chrysalus has met the youth and put him on his guard.

² Some scholars have made a difficulty of the fact that Sagaristio attends the final banquet instead of going to Eretria (259). But he did not have to be in Eretria at once (cf. 260 *die septumei*), even if vv. 262 ff. do not explicitly state that he will not go at all.

The absence of Saturio and Lucris from the banquet has been attributed by Professor Prescott, with great probability, to the fact that being freeborn they cannot take part in such a slave celebration (Cl. Phil. XI, 128 f.). Besides they were forced into the trick by the power which Toxilus possessed over Saturio (140 ff.) and they require

ristio, the pseudo-Persian, instead of going to his ship, is to sneak per angiportum... per hortum (678 f.) into the house of Toxilus's master, and the girl is coached upon the stage, first in a scene which is practically a rehearsal (III, 1) and then at the crucial moment by asides from Toxilus and Sagaristio (IV, 4). There is a wealth of hints to the audience.

In the *Pseudolus* also the wiles of a slave provide the chief interest and the object is the same as in the *Epidicus*: to obtain money for the young master's love affair. *Pseudolus* guarantees to trick Ballio, the *leno*, out of the girl. As in the *Epidicus* a soldier is anxious to secure the same girl, and there is a second *senex* and a second *adulescens*. The first part of the play contains an immense amount of bragging threats and aimless assertion of resourcefulness on the part of the slave (120 ff., 232 ff., 382 ff.), but he himself characterizes them at their true value (394 ff.) and admits that he has not *gutta certi consili*. His dilemma is in fact worse than that of *Epidicus*, for his old master Simo has an inkling of the situation (408) and soon becomes fully enlightened (481 ff.). It is not until the entrance of Harpax, the soldier's messenger, at v. 595, that *Pseudolus* has any real basis for his wiles, and at once there is a clear statement that new plans are necessary and all previous ones abandoned (601-603).

The only important feature of the first 594 lines, so far as the real trickery is concerned, is the assurance given by *Pseudolus* to Simo that he will get the necessary money from Simo himself (507-518) and will cheat Ballio out of the girl (524-530), and the promise of Simo to supply the money if *Pseudolus* accomplishes both feats, i. e. the *senex* practically bets the slave that he cannot get the money from him or cheat the *leno*. The turn given to *Pseudolus*'s plans (if he had any!) by the arrival of Harpax renders it unnecessary to carry out his intention of securing the money from Simo, and in the end Simo pays his bet because the other part of *Pseudolus*'s task—the cheating of Ballio—has been so well done (1213, 1238, 1307 f.).¹ The

no reward other than the continuance of his favor. Like many other instruments of trickery in Plautus they disappear when their rôles are played, cf. *Simia* (*Pseud.*), the *sycophanta* (*Tri.*), etc., cf. Prescott, *ibid.*

¹ Leo finds a contradiction between *Pseudolus*'s promise (1) to get the money from Simo and to outwit the *leno*, and (2) Simo's offer of the

real plan required only five minae, the amount brought by Harpax to complete the payment for the soldier, and this sum is furnished by Charinus (734) with the assurance from Pseudolus that when Simo pays his bet, Pseudolus will pay back the loan. So when Pseudolus receives the 20 minae which he has won (1241), he has more than he needs to repay Charinus and is able to promise the return of dimidium aut plus to Simo (1328).

The real trickery therefore begins with the arrival of Harpax (595) and the first step is taken when Pseudolus, by claiming to be Ballio's servant, secures from Harpax the soldier's letter to Ballio. The method by which Ballio is outwitted is again, as in the Persa and the Epidicus, personation. A pseudo-Harpax is dressed up and sent to Ballio with the letter and five minae, and to him Ballio surrenders the girl. The entire transaction is clearly planned even to the dress which the false messenger is to wear (725-755), and as clearly executed (956-1051). The long scene between Ballio, Simo, and the real Harpax (1103-1237) merely clinches the result. We may remark in passing that although the soldier recovers his money (1230) he loses the girl, which is the same fate that the military gentlemen suffer in the Epidicus, Bacchides, and Curculio.

The illustrations given indicate how clearly Plautus presents many of the same types of deception which occur in the Epidicus. There is however one important feature which cannot be paralleled in the three plays just considered. It has been noted (pp. 244 ff.) that in accordance with the plans of Epidicus the hoodwinking of the leno (364-370) and of Apoecides—so far as the false purchase of the fidicina is concerned—take place off the stage, and we have seen that the references to the actions do not agree with the plans. How does Plautus deal with this type of situation elsewhere? Light is thrown on this question by the Asinaria and the Captivi.

money if Pseudolus accomplishes *both* tasks by evening (Gött. gelehrt. Nachr., 1903, 250). But surely, since Pseudolus knows that money will be necessary in order to fool the leno, vv. 535-537 mean, 'Will you give me of your own free will' whatever money I may have to filch from you in order to cheat the leno? For the cheating of the leno is to precede (cf. 524). Pseudolus did not, of course, cheat Simo out of any money for the very good reason that the arrival of Harpax suggested an easier method.

In the *Asinaria* old Demaenetus is hand and glove with the two slaves, Libanus and Leonida, in cheating the Mercator out of the money necessary for young Argyrippus's love affair. The mercator is successfully convinced that the masquerading Leonida is the steward Saurea (II, 4), but he is so cautious that he refuses to pay over the money except in the presence of Demaenetus. Opportunely (!) Demaenetus is in the forum at the banker's (116, 126), and the final acts of the deception—the identification of Leonida as Saurea and the payment to him of the money—take place off the stage. These acts are clearly stated by Libanus (580-583) in perfect harmony with the other parts of the intrigue.

In the *Captivi*, Hegio is induced to believe that Philocrates is the slave Tyndarus, and he releases the pseudo-slave in the hope of recovering his own son. As in the *Asinaria*, the deception of the old man is presented on the stage, but the results—the release and sending away of Philocrates—occur off the stage and are clearly stated by Hegio (III, 2).¹

It is in fact the general practice of Plautus to be clear in his references to events that occur off the stage, cf. such narratives as Bromia's account of the birth of Hercules (*Amph.* V, 1), Curculio's tale of his deception of the soldier (*Curc.* 329-363), Strobilus's account of his theft of Euclio's money-pot (*Aul.* IV, 8), etc. Often indeed the poet goes so far as to present on the stage actions or parts of actions which have been announced to occur off the stage, e. g. *Mil.* 594 f., the senatus of the conspirators will take place intus, but (597 ff.) they come out and make their plan. Old Periplecomenus (*Mil.* 793 ff.) is to instruct the pseudo-wife and maid off the stage, but after he has brought them on, they are instructed all over again (874 ff.)! Nequid peccetis paveo, says Master Palaestrio, and this might be taken as the poet's motto in dealing with the spectators! Indeed the rights of the spectators in this matter are clearly recognized in the *Poenulus*. The *advocati* have been coached in their part off the stage and they are indignant that

¹ In the *Persa* the conviction of Dordalus is to occur off the stage before the praetor, cf. 741-752, and no statement is made later that it actually occurred. But the money (the essential thing) has already been secured and Dordalus, before his departure, laments its loss (742), so that his final conviction can safely be left to inference.

Agorastocles should wish them to rehearse,¹ but they recognize the rights of the spectators (550 ff.):

Omnia istaec scimus iam nos, si hi spectatores sciant.
Horunc hic nunc causa haec agitur spectatorum fabula:
Hos te satius est docere ut, quando agas, quid agas sciant.

The last line states very well the attitude of Plautus himself.²

It is necessary to add a few words concerning the contaminated plays, for it may be argued that if Plautus allowed such glaring inconsistencies as we have in the Miles and the Poenulus, we need not worry about the difficulties of the Epidicus. The answer to this objection is that although these plays contain striking inconsistencies, yet they are not, like the Epidicus, obscure. I must content myself with one or two illustrations.

In the Miles (596) the audience is led to expect a plan to be made on the stage. Such a plan is actually made (765 ff.) and is later carried out. At vv. 612-615 a plan is to be adopted inside the house, but no word of its nature is told, and after the long autobiography of Periplecomenus the real plan is developed. All this is clumsy, but not obscure. Similarly in the Epidicus, if the plan to deceive the leno were merely alluded to and if no attempt were made to state it, there would be no obscurity. If, to take another example, we were told that the plan concerning the fidicina had been abandoned or changed, as we are told in the Pseudolus in a similar situation (601 f.), there would be no obscurity. Again in the Poenulus the accomplishment of the first trick puts the leno absolutely in the power of Agorastocles, and yet another trick is begun against him! But there is no obscurity about either one, and the audience would certainly have been as glad to see a leno twice 'done' as a Bowery audience would be to see a double penalty for the villain.

This study is by no means complete, but enough has been said to indicate that the Epidicus is in several respects ab-

¹ The rehearsal actually follows (III, 2) with all the conspirators present.

² The *retractatores* evidently cut all this unessential talk, cf. Leo, adnot. crit. on v. 503, who suggests that 543-546, 567-577 are a briefer version of the scene. This method of curtailing Plautine verbiage was probably applied to parts of the Epidicus, but the longer versions have not been preserved as in the Poen.

normal among the twenty plays; that a part of its peculiarities are probably due to the poet's treatment of an unusual Greek original, and others to the loss or intentional omission of a prologue or at least an expository passage early in the play, but that some difficulties, especially those connected with the trickery, should not be attributed to Plautus. These last difficulties were probably caused by those who cut the play during the period of its life upon the stage. In its present form the Epidicus is brief, complicated, and obscure, with an obvious tendency to present the bare essentials, particularly the comic parts, of the action. It is a sort of ancient 'movie' whose action touches only the high places, and this is a type of composition of which Plautus, with all his faults, is elsewhere not guilty.

ARTHUR LESLIE WHEELER.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE.

II.—APOPHONY AND RHYME WORDS IN VULGAR LATIN ONOMATOPOEIAS.

The vocabulary of language is extended mainly through combination of preexisting elements and through semantic change. This however should not induce us to underrate the importance of spontaneous creations at all periods of linguistic evolution. The relation between sound and meaning, as a rule, of course, is merely traditional and conventional. In a few cases however there is some connection between the sounds of a word and the ideas, feelings or sensations associated with it. The sound in that case is a natural symbol, though even there convention is far from being absent. Of that type, of course, are the onomatopoeias that are created from time to time, such as *chickadee*, *bobolink* and other imitative words adopted by the colonists in America. But the imitation is not always so complete. It may be more discrete. The harmony may exist between the movements, tensions, relaxations, etc. associated with ideas and those associated with the production of certain sounds, as e. g. relaxation and *f* in Eng. *flabby*, Fr. *flasque*, Lat. *flaccus*, Du. *flauw*, etc.; disgust and *-ouille* in Fr. *fripouille*, *bredouille*, *patouille*, etc. There are many other sounds which could as well evoke those sensations and often enough (as e. g. Fr. *-ouille* from *s-ouille*=Lat. *sucula*), the relation is a secondary one but still, in the minds of the people, the association exists and may prove capable of generating new words connected with similar sensations. In that way e. g. Eng. *smash*, *clash*, etc. seem to have been formed from *mash*, *thrash*, etc.

Another harmony exists between pitch and sound. Clear vowels associate better with high notes and dark sounds with low tone. Hence the vowel variation in onomatopoeias of motion as Eng. *chitchat*, *seesaw*, *tiptop*, *pingpong*, Fr. *zigzag*, *tictac*, Germ. *pifffaffpuff*, *bimbambum*, etc. that symbolize the rhythms of various movements. Hence the use of clear vowels for activity or intensity, proximity, smallness, while *o*, *u* are for passivity, gloom, remoteness, broadness, as in Batta

(Malayan) where "to creep" is *džarar* in general, *džirir* for small beings, *džurur* for big ones (cf. Gabeltz, Sprachwissenschaft, p. 222) or as in Woloff (Sudanese) in local suffixes: *baybe* "my here father", *bayba* "my there father", *baybu* "my yonder father". Wundt (Sprache I p. 3, 199) has collected many instances of that kind of phenomena. They play an important part in the grouping of words in our memory. In the same way as ideas are associated because they suggest similar images (metaphors), words can form series on account of a phonetic similitude.

Two types of series are most generally found. Either the same phonetic combination produces several words through variation of the accented vowel (Germ. *bammeln*, *bimmeln*, *bummeln*), or parts of a phonetic combination are transmitted to other words of kindred meaning (Eng. *flash*, *flare*, *fimmer*, or *mash*, *dash*, *clash*, etc.).

While both these types of formations have only been studied superficially in our modern languages, the material that Vulgar Latin can provide has remained practically neglected up to now, although it is especially abundant and presents a special interest for the history of many a Romance word.

I. ONOMATOPOEIC APOPHONY.

In the same way as we have imitative combinations as Eng. *pingpong*, *seesaw*, Fr. *zigzag*, Germ. *bimbambum*, etc. (cf. supra) we keep in our minds series like Germ. *knarren*, *knurren*, *knirren*; *flattern*, *flittern*; Fr. *claquer*, *cliquer*, etc.

Such series are due to variations in the impressions made on us by noises as well as to an unconscious rhythmical feeling in ourselves.

The vocalic scale, according to the general principles expounded above, corresponds roughly to changes in the quality of our sensations or affections. This correspondence, however, is often of a subtle character and often enough the vocalic change is influenced by the reminiscence of words, hovering in our memory. The latter phenomenon, known under the name of contamination, has been very active even in the traditional elements of language. Its action must have been much more decisive on those elements of speech that are directly under the influence of feeling and associations of feelings. Wundt

(Sp. p. 620) in the Germ. series *baumeln*, *bammeln*, *bimmeln*, *bummeln* thus explains *bammeln* as due to the influence of Germ. *Baum*. In *bummeln* on the other hand, I think, one would hardly deny the probability of a discrete influence of *dumm*, *stumm*, *stumpf*, *dumpf*, etc. referring to relaxation and nonsense. In the same way, besides *potta* "thick lip" and **patta* "thick foot", exists **pauta* (hence Eng. *paw*) apparently under the influence of *plauta* "planis pedibus" which itself was a member in a secondary series *plotta* "flat fish" (Gr. τὰ πλωτά), *plattus-platta* "flat" (Gr. πλατύς), *plautus* "flat-footed", *plauta* "sole".

The series of *patta* and *platta* to which we are thus alluding here deserves to be the first to attract our attention on account of the various interesting phenomena which it illustrates:

I. **patta* and **pauta* are held to be of Teutonic origin. This, however, is not very likely. It is not common to find a genuine Germanic word with an initial *p*. Moreover the Teutonic representatives of it: Du. *poot*, Germ. *Pfote* are quite isolated in those languages and are almost as clearly derived from Latin as Eng. *paw* comes from O. Fr. *poue*. With Prov. *pauto*, all those words go back to Lat. **pauta*. *Patta*, on the contrary, survives not only in Fr. *patte* but also in Sp. *pata*, Port. *pata* "duck" and appears thus to be the earlier form. In all these languages **patta* and **pauta* are familiar and deprecative words for "foot". In the general derivatives, the word is used of "thick feet": *pataud* "dog with large paws", *patauger* "to dabble"; and of "clumsiness" in general: *patouiller* "to muddle" (deprecative suffix, *-ouiller*), *patois* "clumsy language", etc.

The semantic relation with *plautus*, *-a*, *-um*, "flat-footed" is thus more than sufficient to account for a contamination changing **patta* into **pauta*, as said above. The etymology of **patta* is unknown. The word is either a childlike corruption of *pedem* or a mere "Lallwort". The *tt* in **patta* while **pauta* has *t* is due to the tendency of Vulgar Latin to reduplicate consonants after single vowels while this never takes place after diphthongs. This reduplication is a well-known feature of popular Latin. It is found mostly in familiar words, such as abbreviated personal epithets: *vorri*, *varro*, *lippus*, etc. names of utensils: *cuppa*, *baccus*, *cippus*, *brocca*, *stroppa*, etc. It is

peculiarly frequent in onomatopoeic words, probably on account of its intensive value.

Besides **patta* existed **potta* "thick lip". The affective shade being exactly the same, it is difficult to doubt that both words were associated in the people's minds. One word may have been formed from the other. They are both expressive of a thickness or a clumsiness of the lips. *potta* is likely to be the older word, though it is known only through Prov. *poto* "thick lip", Lorr. *pot* "lip", Swiss *pota* "grimace", Béarn. *putu* "kiss", It. *potta* "cunnus". The French expressions: *main potte* "thick hand", *jambe potte* "swollen leg", *potelé* "plump" show remarkably well the general expressive power of a thick lip.

2. The series *plauta*, **platta*, **plotta*, as aforesaid, is decidedly secondary. *plautus* "flat-footed" belongs to the root of Skr. *pr̥thu* "broad", Gr. *πλατύς* "flat, broad", Gall. *litano* "broad", Lith. *platus* "broad", etc. *plauta* in Romance is a "sole" (It. *piota*, Prov. *plauta*).

The other two words are Greek borrowings. *πλατύς* at an early period became Latin and underwent the popular reduplication. It is found in all Romance languages. The Low-Greek feminine *πλατύσσα* was also borrowed (**platussa* or **platissa*) as the name of a flat fish, the "plaice", hence Gasc. *platuse*, Catal. *platussa*, O. Fr. *plaiz*, Wall. *pleis*, etc. (Eng. *plaice*). Another kind of flat-fish was called **plotta* (Lomb. *pyota*, Engad. *plotra*) thanks to a folk-etymology which connected with *plattus* the Greek word *τὰ πλωτά* "migratory fish" from Ion. *πλώω* "to float".

The apophony *o-a* of *potta-patta* is surprisingly frequent in the Vulgar Latin onomatopoeias. Very near in meaning to that pair are the pairs:

<i>ciottus</i>	:	<i>ciattus</i>
<i>motta</i>	:	<i>matta</i>
<i>cioffus</i>	:	<i>ciaffus</i>
<i>floccus</i>	:	<i>flaccus</i>
<i>maccus</i>	:	<i>mocca</i>
<i>baba</i>	:	<i>bobba</i>

all referring either to thick conglomerates and to clods, or to movements of the lips.

3. **ciottus*: **ciattus* refers to clods. The former is Rum. *cioł* "knotty excrescence", It. *ciottolo* "pebble", *piede ciotto* "club-foot", Irp. *ciutto* "thick", Mil. *šot* "solid dirt", Fr. *sot* "stupid". The latter is Mil. *šat* "short, stout", Lomb. *šat* "toad", *šat*, *šata* "son, daughter".

4. **motta*: **matta* "clod". The former generally is used for "clods of earth" or "mounds". It is of obscure origin though often supposed to be Teutonic. The only Germanic representative, however, outside Eng. *moat* borrowed from French is Du. *mot* "clod of turf", a word completely isolated in that language and most probably borrowed. On the other hand **motta* is found in all Romance languages, even in the south of Italy. The meaning does not seem to have been originally confined to clods of earth as in Fr. *motte* but to any sort of clod: Franch. Comt. *motte* "clod of butter", Engad. *motlon* "clod of curdled milk", Sp. *mota* "knot in a cloth". It is very important to observe that in Lombardy **motta* means "thick lip" like *potta* of which it appears therefore in origin to have been a variation.

**matta* is found mostly with the meaning that **motta* has in the Jura and the Alps. It refers to "curdled milk", as in Fr. *matte* "junket", *maton* "pancake". Prov. *mat* however means "compact", while Sic. *matta* is a "group".

5. **cioffus*: **ciaffus*. If **motta* reproduces the ending of *potta*, **cioffus* has the initial of **ciottus*, which may be a combination of *potta* and **cioffus*. **cioffus* is "thick, swollen, stupid" and survives in Neapol. *cioffe* "big sledge", O. It. *ciofo* "man from the mob", Istr. *čoubo* "stout man". **ciaffus* is represented by Lucch. *ciaffo* "thick, round face", Sic. *ciaffu* "chubby face", *ciaffalu* "blockhead", Piac. *cifardu* "thick", Piedm. *ciaferla* "cheek", Low-Engad. *ciaflun* "belly", etc.

6. *flocus*: *flaccus*. The ending of **cioffus* is found in **loffia* "wind", **guffus* "clumsy", **baffa* "paunch" as well as in **buffare*, **beffare*, **biffare*, referring to wind or breathing. The f in all those words suggests breathing or swelling of the lips, void, unsubstantiality. I am inclined to include in that list *flaccus* "slack, flabby", *flaccere* "to wither, to get flaccid", words which Walde very unconvincingly tries to connect with Gr. βλάξ "weak" a derivative from the Ind. E. root *melā* "to

be slack". Less probable yet is the connection between *foccus* "flake" and Gr. φλαδεῖν "to tear" (intr.). It is clear enough that *foccus*, referring to flabby, unsubstantial conglomerates, is in apophony with *flaccus*. Both these words being older than those previously studied, there is a possibility that there existed in Latin an old tendency to the onomatopoeic apophony *o-a*.

7. **maccus* "bean broth": **mocca* "grimace of the lips". These words, again connected with the lips, seem to have formed a parallel series to **motta*: **matta* and the other aforesaid onomatopoeias, *maccus* is O. It. *macco*, Sic. *maccu*, Abruzz. *makka* "thick polenta". The word is apparently quite different from Lat. *maccus* "clown, fool", and is most probably a mere onomatopoeia. **mocca* survives in Lomb. *fa la moca* "to put up a lip", *fa di moke* "to fondle with excess", *moka* "vain talk", Fr. *moquer* "to mock", Sp. *mueca* "grimace".

8. **baba*, **babba* "slaver", **bobba* "bean soup, beverage". Of these words, also descriptive of movements of the lips, the former has been very productive in Romance. On the one hand, it survives in It. *bava*, Sard. *baa*, Sp. *baba*, Fr. *bave* "slaver", *bavard* "prattler", *baveuse* (=Sp. *babosa*) "slime-fish", etc.; on the other, in words referring to "babbling", "stammering" (Lat. *babulus*, *babiger*, *babire*) and to childhood and stupidity as Sic. *vava* "infant", *vavaredda* "pupil", It. *babbeo*, *babbione*, *babbalocco* "blockhead", Mil. *babi* "silly", Gen. *baggiu* "ugly-toad", Abruzz. *babbaluke* "cob-web", Sard. *babbayola* "cock-chafer", Sic. *babbalucciu* "snail", Cat. *babo* "earwig", *babolo* "maggot", etc. The bugs, beetles, etc. of this series are all more or less repulsive and have received their names on account of the disgust which our lips express when we behold them. The root still means "lip" in Fr. *babine*, *baboue*, familiar words for "lip", and in Milan. *babi* "chin".

As to **bobba*, it also has various meanings for which the only connecting element is a gesture of the lips. In Abruzz. *bobba*, Milan. Venet. Emil. *boba*, Ital. *bobbia*, it is a "thick soup", a "pap", in Neapol. *bobba*, it is a "hotch-potch", while in Venet. *boba*, it is "pus". On the other hand, in Piedm. *bubu*, Friul. *bobo*, it has the meaning of Fr. *bobo*, a nursery word for "pain, fright", while Friul. *bobo* is "bug-bear", all meanings recalling the names of insects, etc. derived from *baba*, *babba*. As to Sp.

bobo "silly", Sard. *bovu* "clumsy", they must be put on a line with *babbione*, *babbalocco*, etc.

Besides *bab* and *bob* existed *bib* referring not to thick, plump objects, but, on the contrary, to small things. It is also used of fright rather than of disgust. It is also a word for small repeated movements and sensations. In Venet. *bibyar*, Friul. *bibya*, it is "to swing", in Canav. *bibyar*, it is "to have one's flesh made to creep". In Triest. *bibioso*, Bresc. *bibus*, the meaning is "a dilatory person". On the other hand, Fr. *bibelots* are "nick-nacks" while Saintong. *bibé* is "to tease".

9. **bombus*, **bambus*, **bimbus*. This series is very close to the preceding one in most of its meanings, though it often also refers to noise. *bombus* is held by Walde to be borrowed from Gr. βόμβος "dull sound". This is possible, but both words are onomatopoeic and may have arisen independently. It. *bomba* "bomb", *bombarda* "gun", *ribombare* "to resound", are the only derivatives clearly referring to a dull sound. The other words are used for "swelling, clumsiness, gormandize" etc., and appear to be variations of the *bob*-words: Prov. Cat. *bomba* is "brag", It. *bombero* is a "clumsy man" (cf. *babbione*), while It. *bombo* is a nursery word for "beverage" (cf. *boba*, *bubu*), Sp. *bombare* refers to the same idea, while Prov. *bobanze* "brag", Fr. *bombance* "feasting" are contaminations of this family and that of *bullare* (cf. Meyer-Lübke s. v.; It. *burbanza*).

**bambus* is a more decidedly Latin creation and is clearly a variation of the *bab*-family. It has the same meanings, cf. It. *bambo* "foolish", *bambino* "silly, childlike, child", *bambolo*, *bamboccio* "doll", Sp. *bambolla* "ostentation" (cf. Prov. *bomba*), Gasc. *bamborle* "prattle", Limous. *bamborro* "bass-viol" (cf. It. *bomba*), Sp. *bamarotero* "clamorer", *bamarria* "blockhead".

As to **bimbus*, it shows the diminutive value of the *i* in It. *bimbo* "child", which may be connected in some way with Fr. *bimbelot*, another form of *bibelot*.

On the other hand **bambalare*, **bambare* like the *bib*-family mean "to swing", in Sp. *bamballear*, Norm. *bamboler*, Wallon. *bamber* "to shake one's head", terms that may all be derived from a Vulg. Lat. **bamba*, a word which in origin most prob-

ably is an onomatopoeia of the bell's sound rather than of its movement.

10. ***clocca, *claccare, *cliccare.** If a bell was a *bamba*, it also was a **clocca*. The existence of *clog* "bell", *clogain* "I ring" in Irish induces Sweat and Meyer-Lübke to believe in the Keltic origin of that word. In fact, **clocca* being unknown in Sardinia and Southern Italy is probably not so old as most of the aforesaid onomatopoeias. This however also applies to **claccare* and *cliccare*, sound-reproducing words found in France and Northern Italy: Fr. *cliquer*, "to clank", *cliquette* "clapper", Fr. *claquer* "to clap", Prov. *claca* "to crack, to gossip", Ital. *chiacchierare* "to babble". It seems therefore likely enough that we have to do with an onomatopoeic series which developed pretty late in the West of the Roman Empire, partly under Keltic influence, partly spontaneously.

**clocca* is found in Spain, Northern Italy, and Gaul.

11. ***tuccare, *taccare, *ticcare.** No series better illustrates the principle of onomatopoeic apophony. The three words all mean "to knock" with reference to the slight noise, the slight touch or the slight mark accompanying the knocking. **tuccare* more especially means "to knock" with evocation of a dull noise, hence It. *toccare*, Prov. *tocar*, Fr. *toucher* (Eng. *touch*, cf. Modern French: *toquer*). **ticcare*, like Germ. *ticken*, is used for tapping with a pointed, slightly penetrating object and for the mark left: It. *tecca* "spot", O. Fr. *entechier* "to stain", Mod. Fr. *enticher* "to taint, to infect with". **taccare* refers to a somewhat more perceptible mark: It. *tacca* "notch", Engad. *taccar* "to indent", while Fr. *tache*, Prov. *taca* is "stain". From the meaning "notch, jag", it came to be used for "little hook" (It. *tacco*, *taccone* "patch on the shoe") and for fastening (Fr. *attacher*, It. *attaccare* "attach" *attaccare battaglia* "to join battle, to attack—Sp. *taco* "peg"). In It. *taccagno* "stingy", *taccagnare* "to chaffer", Fr. *taquin* "teasing", one finds the idea of "fastening" extended figuratively to a moral adhesiveness, symbolic of importunity.

12. ***craccare, croc(it)are, *criccare.** These are directly imitative words susceptible of being created in the most various languages. **craccare*, which like the Modern French onomato-

poeia *craquer* must have been used for some cracking noise, has come to mean "to spit", a rather vulgar metaphor: It. *scaracchiare*, Prov. *escracular*, Fr. *cracher*. *crocicare*, *crocitare* "to caw" is said of *crows* (It. *crocidare*).

As to **criccare*, its existence in Vulgar Latin is doubtful. It is found in O. Prov. *cricot*, Fr. *criquet* "cricket, locust", *criquer* "to chink", all onomatopoeias that could be fairly recent. On the whole, it is thus unlikely that *craccare*, *croccare*, *criccare* ever constituted a series in Vulgar Latin.

13. *garrio* "to prattle, babble": **gorrus* "hog". The latter survives in O. Fr. *gorre* "sow", Fr. *goret* "young pig", Prov. *gorri* "sucking pig", Sp. *gorrin* "hog". It is a very natural onomatopoeia for pigs. It is, however, not unlikely that *garrio* has influenced the form of this imitative word.

Not very different from the *o-a* apophony is the *u-a* alternation. We find it e. g. in—

14. **juppare*, **joppare*, **jappare*. *juppare* has probably existed in Gaul. O. Fr. *jup* "shout", *juper*, Wallon. *juper* "shout". **joppare* should be the origin of Morv. *joper* "to jump close-legged", Sp. *jopo* "jump" *jope* "hop!". **jappare* "to bark" is confined to Gaul (Prov. *džapa*, Fr. *japper* "to yelp" (Catal. *žaupa*).

15. **jmpare* : **jmpare*. As one has *bomb-bamb-bimb* besides *bob*, *bab*, *bib*, one has *jmp-jamp* besides *jup-jap*. In fact, the nasalized series is more general in Romance: O. Sard. *iumpare* "to leap", Campid. *giumpai* "to jump", Neapol. *dzumba* "to dance", Prov. *jumpla* "to swing", *jumpladero* "see-saw".

**jmpare* is found in Modern Sardinian and is likely to have existed since Roman times besides **jmpare*: Sard. *giampare* "to jump", *giampu* "leap". In spite of the phonetic resemblance, Eng. *jump* seems rather to have a Scandinavian origin. As to the relation of meaning between "shouting" and "jumping", it is made clear enough by the existence of interjections like Span. *jope* (hop!) besides Span. *jopo* "leap". One also finds besides *bombus* "dull noise", **bombitire* (Fr. *bondir*) "to bound".

16. **puppa*, *pappare*, *pipare*. *puppa* is "teat", hence It. *poppa* "breast", *pappare* "to suckle", Fr. *poupe* "breast".

The word is old and most likely refers to the movement of the suckling's lips. *pappare* "to eat" also is a nursery word that is connected with the activity of the lips and mouth. It is Rom. *papa*, Sard. It. *pappare*, O. Fr. *paper*, Fr. *pape* "pap", Sp. *papar*. Besides, Venet. *papota* "thick lips" is a contamination of *pappare* and *potta* (cf. Fr. *papotter* "to babble"). In the same order of ideas, one has: Sp. *papo* "crop", *papado* "double chin", *papudo* "thick-cropped", Portug. *papao* "scarecrow, negro". As *pap* is a very frequent onomatopoeia for eating (cf. Germ. *pappen*), *pip* is no less general for peeping, chirping, whistling (cf. Gr. *πίτος* "young bird", *πιρίζω* "to chirp", Germ. *biepen*, etc.). In Latin one has *pipare*, *piicare*, *pipilare*, *piippitare*, *piipulum*, in Vulgar Latin *pipa* "pipe". (Fr. *pipeau* "shepherd's pipe"). In *pipare* as in **ticcare*, **bibbare*, etc. the *i* stage corresponds thus to the minute form of the movements expressed by the *a-* and *o-u* stages.

17. **bucca: *biccus, biccus.** *bucca* is an onomatopoeia of the swollen cheeks, which prevailed over *os* in Romance (Fr. *bouche*, It. *bocca*, etc.). As to **biccus*, "beak", it is supposed to be Keltic (Gaël. *beic*, Bret. *bec*). The word however is so general in Romance (Sard. *biccu*, Fr. Prov. *bec*, It. *becco*, Sp. *bico*) that it must at an early period have entered the language as an apophony of *bucca* for a thin, pointed buccal opening. **biccus* has also been contaminated with *picare* "to pick", **piccare* "to prick", hence It. *beccare* "to peck".

18. ***buffare, *biffare, *beffare, *baffa.** This very complete series refers to movements of the lips connected with breathing and blowing. Swelling is expressed by **buffare* in It. *buffare* "to breathe with swollen cheeks", *buffa* "cowl, hood", Sic. *buffa* "toad", It. *buffera* "blizzard", Fr. *bouffée* "blast of wind", *bouffer* "to puff up", *bouffi* "swollen", *bouffette* "tuft", Wall. *bofe* "pin-cushion", Prov. *bufa* "to blow", *bufet* "bellows", *bufega* "to eat as a glutton" (Mod. Fr. *bouffer*, Cat. *bofet* "box on the ear", Span. *bofe* "lung", etc.) *baff-* has the same value as *buff* in Piedm. *bafra* "paunch", Fr. *bafre* "gluttony", Sic. *baffa* "pumpkin", O. Lomb., Engad. *baffa* "flitch of bacon". On the other hand Cat. *vaf*, Sp. *baho*, Tosc. *bafore* is "vapor", and, accordingly, Neap. *abbafa* is "to gasp". Both these roots, moreover, refer to mockery as ex-

pressed by swelling of the cheeks and a short blowing (cf. *maccus*: **mocca*), hence: Prov. *bafa* "mockery", Abruzz. *abbafa* "to mock", Sic. *baffari* "to brawl", or from *buf*: It. *buffare* "to play the buffoon", *buffe* "drollery", *buffo* "buffoon". This is the prevalent meaning of *bef*: It. *far beffe* "to mock", *beffa* "mockery", *beffare* "to mock", Fr. *beffer*, Sp. *befar* "to mock", while the connection with "lip" is preserved in Span. *befo* "lower lip of a horse".

As to *biff*, it is probably later and only found in French: *biffer* "to wipe off", *biffe* "rag", *se rebiffer* "to bristle up".

19. **crappa*, **creppa*, *cruppa*. **crappa* "rock, stone", for which Meyer-Lübke does not know any etymology, is apparently a mere onomatopoeia for something rough that scratches, comparable to Du. *krabben* "to scratch", Germ. *krabbeln* "to crawl". It is commonly found in Italian and Rhaetian dialects (Engad. *crap*, Lomb. *crapa*, Judic. *grapa* "skull") alongside of **creppa* (Friul. *krepe* "skull", Triest. *krepi* "rock", It. *greppo* "protruding rock"), Obwald. *grip* "cliff". A similar onomatopoeia has given O. H. G. *klep* "cliff", Dan. *klippe* "crag" etc.

As to *cruppa*, its belonging to this series is doubtful. It is found in C. Gl. II. 118. 16 for a "thick rope" (perhaps on account of its roughness) but the possibility of a borrowing from Teutonic *kruppa* "twisted moss, crop" is not excluded.

20. *cicum*, *coccum*, *cacare*. This is decidedly a secondary series. *coccum* reproduces Gr. κόκκος a grain or seed, as of the pomegranate. It is used largely in Romance for all kinds of shells and husks. (Abruzz. *kokke* "nut", Prov. *koko* "almond", Sard. *cocca* "round bread" etc.). Its use for an "egg" or a "shell" suggests the possibility of a contamination with *cochlea* from Gr. κοχλίας "snail". In the language of the people *cochlea* was changed into **cocula*, **cocila* (Meyer-Lübke p. 161), which let it appear as a diminutive of *coccum*. The latter word came thus to mean "shell", in Span. *coca* "mussel" and "egg", in It. *cocco*, while Fr. *coche* is "fragment, potsherd". The disgust inspired by some snails resulted in a contamination with *cacare*, in Prov. *cacarau*, *cacalauso* "snail".

As to *cicum*, it is used for "the core of a fruit" or, in general, for "trifle". It appears to be a spontaneous creation

from *coccum* for smaller things by application of the *i*-vocalism. It is the source of many a familiar word as It. *chicco* "kernel, bean", *cicca* "bit, stump", Sp. *chico* "small", It. *cica* "trifle", Fr. *chiquet* "small piece", *chiquer* "to eat".

21. **nanna, ninna, nonna.** In *cicum, coccum* (**caccus*), the apophony observable in the "Schallwörter" has been found in a "Lallwort". Another word of the latter category shows the same alteration with even greater clearness; it is a term of endearment applied to both children and old people. The forms in *i*, of course, are the diminutive ones. It. *ninnolo* "toy", O. It. *ninna* "maid", Sp. *niño* "child", *niña* "pupil", It. *ninnare* "to rock a child". *nannus* and *nanna* are generally for old people: Sic. *nannu* "grandfather", Sp. *nana* "housewife", but Tusc. *nannolo* is a "toy", Tusc. *nanna*, a "cradle", Sp. *hacer la nana* "to sleep".

nonna is decidedly for older people: It. *nonna* "grandmother", Sic. *nunna* "mother-match-maker", Log. *nonnu* "godfather", Fr. *nonne* "nun" but Sp. *nono* is "childish". The hesitation between "old man" and "child" is due to the fact that these are words of feeling and mere expressions of sympathy for weaker beings.

II. RHYME-WORDS.

The extension of the ending (or the initial) of words to other words with a similar meaning is especially observable with terms of a picturesque or emotional character. New onomatopoeias are created under the influence of those already existing in the language and haunting our memory.

No wonder then if, in Vulgar Latin, series are found of the same type as Gr. γνάπτω: κάπτω: κνάπτω—κράξω: κλάξω—Germ. *Ranke, schlank—lügen: betrügen—zucken, rucken, ducken, mucken*, etc.

Sometimes words are actually forged so as to fit into such a series; sometimes they have an independent etymology but have been influenced in their form or their meaning by their being introduced into a group of that kind. Most of the spontaneous formations in which apophony is observable are also illustrations of this process. If there is a family: **potta*, **patta*, **pauta*, there is also a family: **potta*, **motta*, **ciotta* and a family **patta*, **matta*, **ciatta*, both referring to clods and thick

objects. (Compare the English series: *hump*, *bump*, *lump*, *clump*.) To the former group, we ought probably to add **bottia* "hump" (Ital. *bozza* "swelling", Fr. *bosse* "hump"), which appears to be a popular alteration of *botulus*, *botellus* "bowel" under the influence of **motta*, etc. To the latter series should be added: **platta* "flat" and, in my opinion, **latta* "flat surface", and *stlatta* "broad flat ship". **latta*, to be sure, is generally held to be Teutonic and akin to German *Laden* but both words, in fact, are very obscure and the connection between them is not clear. Moreover, **latta* is common in all Romance languages and its original meaning is not "lath" but "flat piece of metal or wood" as shown by It. *latta* "thin plate", Port. *lata* "plate of metal", O. Sp. *hoja de lata* "plate of brass". **latta* is thus, most probably, a slangy form of *lata* "wide and flat" with the popular reduplication so often found in those vulgar words (cf. above: **patta*, *platta*, *plotta*, **babba*, *puppa*, etc.) and notably in *stlatta* "broad ship", a doublet of **latta*.¹

Another series depicting swelling, wind, void is represented by **guffus* "thick, plump", **cioffus* "thick, clumsy", **buffare* "to swell, to blow", **ex-bruffare* "to gulp, to gush forth", **loffia* "wind, part", and perhaps *offa* "clod of meal", **muffa* "mockery". (Sp. *mofa* "disdain", Engad. *mofla* "swollen cheek", Hennuy. *mufu* "paunched".)

Several dull noises are expressed by a -utt- series: *gutta* "drop",² **jutta* "broth" (Engad. *giuota* "barley soup", Parm. *dzota* "liquid food for pigs", Poitev. *žut* "pap for geese"), *muttum* "mutter" (It. *motto*, Fr. *mot*) and possibly **ciuttus* "young lamb" (Engad. *čut* "lamb", Borm. *šotin* "sheep").

There are, moreover, guttural series. One is in -ucca representing also dull noises as *bucca* "swollen cheeks, mouth", **mucca* "cow" (It. *mucca* "cow", Romagn. *moka* "milch cow"), **buccare* "to shout with a low voice" (Fr. *hucher*, Prov. *ucar*, Fr. *huchet* "hunting horn", Prov. *uca* "herald", Cat. *ahucar* "to frighten by shouting"), **tuccare* "to knock" (cf. supra). To those words we ought to add **guccius* "dog"

¹ C. Gl. L. II. 188. 50—Gr. L. VII. 107. 1. K.—Cf. Festus 454: "genus navigii latum magis quam altum et a latitudine sic appellatum".

² Walde vainly tries to find an etymology for that onomatopoeia.

(Sp. *gozque*, Wall. *go*, Sic. *guttsu*, It. *cuccio*) and **cuccius* "pig" (Rum. *cucciū*, Fr. *cochon*, Sp. *cocho*, etc.).

Another in *-iccus* refers to small things: **piccus* "point, small" (Rum. *pic* "drop", Megl. *pica* "a little", It. *piccolo* "small", *picco* "point", *piccare* "to prick", etc.), *cicum* "core of a fruit, trifle" (cf. supra), **ticca* "spot" (cf. supra).

On the other hand, a good many words ending in *-occus* refer to rough things: **roccus*, **rocca* "rock" (It. *rocca*, Fr. *roche*, *roc*, etc.), **froccus* "rough, uncultivated field" (O. Fr. *froc*, Sp. *llueco*), *broccus* "jagged, indented" (It. *brocco* "pointed stick", *brocca* "stake", Neap. *vrocca* "fork", Fr. *broche* "spit", Bologn. *broca* "bough", etc.), three words without etymology, which most likely are onomatopoeias. They rhymed with *occa* "harrow", an Indo-European word, and **sōccus* "plowshare", which has changed the *u* of Gall. *sukkos* apparently under the influence of *brōccus*, *ōcca*, etc.

A curious group of words in *-uppa*, of varying origin, refers to ropes, strings, and similar objects. Among them is **faluppa* "filament, thread, rod" a widely used term in Romance where it is applied to all kinds of rods, rags, strings, wraps, etc., and is notably the origin of both Fr. *envelopper* and Fr. *frapper*. *cruppa* is a "thick rope" (cf. supra), **stuppa* (Gr. *στόπη* "tow") means "raw flax" (Fr. *étoupe*), while **marsuppa* from Gr. *μάρπιτος* "bag" has altered its ending to enter this series (O. L. *marsupium*). It has also come to mean "porpoise" by metaphor (Sp. *marsopa*).

III. THE SUFFIXES: { *-ittus*, *-atus*, *-ottus*, { *-iccus*, *-accus*, *-occus*.

The two categories of phenomena considered in this article have, in my opinion, a direct bearing on the history of the mysterious diminutive suffixes of Vulgar Latin.

In spite of various attempts at explanation, the suffixes *-ittus* and *-iccus*, so productive in Romance and important even in familiar Latin, have an obscure origin. A. Horning (Zeit. Rom. Ph. XIX. 170-188, XX. 335-353) has made a list of the examples of *-iccus* and *-ittus* in inscriptions. He considers both suffixes as alterations of *-iculus* in the mouth of children. Meyer-Lübke (Einführung Rom. Sp. p. 184, sqq.) rather inclines to assign a foreign origin to those endings. *-iccus*, he

thinks, is Keltic on account of *Bodicca* CIL. VIII. 2877, *Aveticcos* CIL. XIII. 190, etc., while *-ittus* was introduced from Teutonic by soldiers who heard the Germanic mercenaries using familiar names as *Charietto* instead of *Chari-bertus*, *Chari-winnus*, etc. (cf. Germ. *Kunz*, *Heinz* from *Konrad*, *Heinrich*, etc.). Zimmermann (Zeit. R. Ph. XXVIII. 343), on the contrary, believes in the Latin origin of *-ittus* and considers it as a doublet of *-itus*. None of these explanations is absolutely convincing. It may be, however, that they all contain some truth.

We have seen that the elaboration of a suffix of some pictur-esque or emotional character is a complex process. The success of an ending as a means of expression of that kind is due always to two causes: the natural expressive value of the sounds which has a tendency to render them popular and suggestive and the influence of other words or other endings that are associated with similar feelings, similar impressions. These influences are often various but agree in connecting some sound-complex with the same meaning.

Another character of these emotional suffixes, is the facility with which they are extended. They correspond, not to an intellectual category, but to a state of mind. Whenever the same emotion is experienced by the speaker, the suffix is presented to his mind by a mere association of sensations. This accounts especially for the profusion of diminutive suffixes in many languages. They answer to a sympathetic, affectionate or ironical mood, they are expressive of a "modus sentiendi".

The starting-point of such suffixes often is surprisingly inconspicuous. *-ouille* in French has become deprecative probably on account of *sucula* and *suculare* > *souiller* "to soil". Later suffixes have acquired emotional properties in that way: *alia* has become deprecative on account of a few collectives as *canalia*, *putealia* in which the suffix was infected by compromising contact. In the same way *aceus*, *icius*, *ocius*, *ucius* have acquired special shades of meaning in Italian (and partly in French). They properly have the value of Engl. *-ish* and *-like*: *vinaceus* = "winelike", *melaceus* = "honey-like" but Fr. *vinasse*, *mélasse*, etc., now mean: "poor wine, mock honey", etc. Engl. *-ish* has at times developed in the same direction. Such is also the history of *-aster* of *viridaster* "greenish", which

becomes highly deprecative in *matraster*>*marâtre*, *filiaster* (C. I. L. XIII.) "bastard". The vocalic symbolism has, of course, discretely influenced those evolutions. *a*-suffixes are generally flatly deprecative, *o*-, *u*-suffixes suggest clumsiness, thickness together with depreciation, *i*-suffixes more and more become diminutives.

By contrast with *-on*, which is deprecative and augmentative, *-inus* becomes diminutive: *sub hoc signino* CIL. XII. 874; *scutrinum* "little plate" C. Gl. L. 515. II; *domnina* CIL. II. 1836; and, moreover, *collina*, *pectorina*, *narina*, *radicina*, *pecorina*, *pullicinum*, **nugina*, **absina*, *circinus*, etc. (cf. Meyer-Lübke, s. v.), *rapina* "turnip" VI. 2104 (Olcott 136), *buccina* (Olcott 135).

This diminutive value is also applied to adjectives: Span. *bonina* "daisy", It. *Bellini* (proper name), It. *piccino* (= *piccolo*), etc. A Pompeian inscription (IV. 1405) has *pusina* for *pusilla*, while *pucina* "small" is quoted by Olcott p. 135.

Now besides *-inus*, there was a suffix *-innus*, which was more expressive of endearment and which was obtained by applying to *-inus* the popular reduplication of consonants so often found in imitative and emotional words: of **piccus* "small" (Rum. *pic* "drop", Megl. *pica*, "a little"), one had not only the diminutives **picculus* and **piccinus* but also **piccinnus*, preserved in Sard. *piccinnu*, Tarent. *piccinnu*, Sp. *pequeño* (= **peccuinnus*). Of *pit-* and *pits-*, nursery words for "small" (It. *pizza* "point", *pizzo* "tuft of beard") one had *pitsinnus* in O. Sard. (Log.) *pithinnu*, Gallur. *pitsinnu*. One also had **putinnus* or **put-sinnus* from *putus* "boy" in Rum. *putin* (besides *putillus*, Walde p. 627), *pipinna* "parva mentula" (Walde p. 586). The same ending existed in the familiar word *cinnus* "wink" (It. *cenno*, Sp. *ceño*), a kind of parallel formation to *cicum* "trifle" with the diminutive ending *-iccus* (cf. infra), perhaps under influence of *cincinnus* "lock of hair" (*κίκυρος*).

Now, there are other suffixes than *-inus* and those already mentioned, which had in Vulgar Latin a shade of familiarity. Zimmermann is probably right in assigning such value to *-atus*, *-itus*, *-utus* used for adjectives. Properly, of course, those endings are those of the past participles which had the greatest extension in the popular speech. They early came to be used to form all kinds of new adjectives: *auritus*, *crinitus*, *pellitus*—

barbatus, **fatatus*, *exauguratus*,—*canutus*, *cornutus*, **car-nutus*, etc. Thus these endings became more or less typical of the familiar speech and came to be applied even to preexisting adjectives. *bellus*, e. g. had a familiar form: **bellatus* preserved in the comparative: **bellatior*>O. Fr. *bellezor*, while the form that prevailed in Spain was *bellitus*>O. Span. *belido*, Port. *velido*. Besides *russus* e. g., existed *russatus* (CIL. 10062) properly a participle of *russare*, but in appearance a variation of *russus*.¹ Besides *bimus*, existed *bimulus* (CIL. VI. 16739) and *bimatus* (CIL. VI. 28910). It would have been only normal that in proper names and in adjectival terms of endearment, *atus* and *itus* should have developed into *attus*, *ittus*.

Now, in fact, it is in such terms that we first find the ending -*itta*. It is used in inscriptions for names of women as *Suavitta*, *Caritta*, *Bonitta* derived from *suavis*, *cara*, *bona*,² in a "Lallwort" as *Attitta*, or in *Julitta*, *Levitta*, *Gallitta*, diminutives of *Julia*, *Livia*, *Galla*. Gradually the ending is found in masculine names and in all kinds of nouns. Its much greater extension as compared with that of -*itus* is explainable especially by the sound-symbolic value of the *i* and the *tt* and also by the influence of the verbal frequentative and diminutive suffix -*itare*, which frequently appears as an equivalent of -*illare*, -*ulare* in the same way as -*ittus* is found in competition with -*ulus*, -*illus*. One has e. g. in imitative words: *pipitare* besides *pipilare*, *pipare*, "to peep, to chirp", *crocitare* "to caw" (It. *crocidare*), besides *crociare*, *graccitare* besides *gracillare* "to cackle", *hippitare* (C. Gl. L. V. 601. 18) "to sob", besides *hippare* (Sp. *hipar*), etc. That same influence seems to have produced a diminutive ending -*itus* before -*ittus* prevailed, cf. in Petronius *caccitus* "fine boy" (Walde p. 104) besides *cacus* "servant of the officers in the army" and in *amita* "aunt", besides the "Lallwort" *amona* "mother".³ The Teutonic -*etta* of Charietta (cf. supra) may also have helped to make such endings popular among soldiers but our study of the rhyme-words will, I hope, have created in the reader the con-

¹ Cf. a long list of -*aius* formations in Olcott p. 247.

² Grandgent, Inter. Vulg. L. p. 20.—Of that type are preserved *bellitta* in Fr. *belette*, O. Sic. *bilottulu* "weasel", and *biritta* (*birrus* "red") in It. *berretta* "cap".

³ In *cucurbita*, also, *ita* was understood as a diminutive suffix, as shown by the substitution of *ula*, *illa* for *ita* in Lyon. *curla*, Langued. *cugurlo*.

viction that nothing can have helped the spreading of *-ittus* so much as the hitherto unobserved circumstance that *-ittus* happened to be the ending of several "Lallwörter" referring to smallness. Among them was **pittus*, a nursery word for "small", preserved in **pitinnus* (cf. supra) **pitittus* (Fr. *petit*), **piticus* (Sard. *pitiku*) **pitinus* (Mil. *pitin* "little"). **tetta*, another nursery word, was a "teat". *hitta* or *hetta* was a "trifle", a "pellicle". Perhaps even **citto* (It. *cetto*, Sard. *kitto*) "quickly, fast" for *cito*, and **pettia* "piece, bit" (Keltic in origin?), may have helped in associating *-itt -ett* with shortness, smallness, etc.

As to *-iccus*, found under the same conditions as *-ittus*: *Bonica* CIL. VIII. 4560, *Karica* ib. 3288, but more in Spain and Africa, its history is probably not very different from that of *-ittus*, except that the foreign influence here is probably much more important. In Spain e. g. where *-icus* is very frequent it is certainly a Celtiberian patronymic ending. *icus*, however, has also Latin origins. That it may have developed from *-iculus* is, of course, possible though not demonstrable and hardly probable. A familiar reduplication of the suffix *-icus* with a shifting of accent under the influence of *-ittus* and the Keltic *-iccos* is much more probable because *-icus* in the popular speech had become a diminutive ending:

- **gemellicus* "twin" (Sard. *amedigga*, Sp. *emelgo*).
- **murica* "mouse" (Prov. *mурго*).
- **petrica* "stone" (Prov. *peirego* "hail").
- **novica* "small boat" (Prov. *nauc* "trough", O. Fr. *no* "cophin").
- **cutica* "skin, film" (Lomb. *codega*).
- **retica* "sieve" (Wall. *reš*).
- **ramica* "rung of a ladder" (Fr. *ranche*).

As a medium between *-icus* and *-iccus*, *-icus* is found in: **narica* "nostril" (It. *narice*), a parallel form to **narina* (Fr. *narine*), *panicum* "millet" from *panus* "bunch of millet" (Walde p. 558) and in **burricus* "pony", besides **burriccus* (meaning properly "little red" from *burrus* "red"). Meyer-Lübke, p. 106.

-iccus is thus a variation of *-icus* and *-icus*, due not only to a general tendency to reduplication and to the influence of *-ittus* but to the existence of several frequent familiar words in *-iccus*

referring to smallness. The aforesaid **piccus* is, like **pittus*, a children's word for "small" (Calabr. *pikka* "little", Rum. *piciu* "baby") and for "point" (It. *picco* "peak", Sp. *pico* "beak"). Besides **piccus* also existed **miccus* (Rum. *mic*) perhaps influenced by Gr. *μικρός* (Densusianu, Hist. L. Roum. I. 201). We have seen that *cicum* "core of a fruit, trifle" is apparently an apophony of *coccum* "kernel, egg". The word was used for "small", cf. Span. *chico* "small", Catal. *xech*, Fr. *chiquet* "small piece". It. *cica* is a "trifle". Moreover, **ticca* was a little spot (It. *tecca*) and **biccus* a "beak" (cf. supra).

The endings *-ittus*, *-iccus* existed also in Vulgar Latin with the vocalism in *a* and *o* (or *u*). These alterations, of course, are due to the symbolic value of these vowels, to the pattern of *-acius*, *-icius*, *-ocius*, *-ucius*, *-atus*, *-itus*, *-otus*, *-utus*, but more yet to the existence in onomatopoeias and familiar words of the *a-i-o-u* apophony that we have followed in quite a number of examples. Besides **pittus* "small, pointed" existed *potta*, **patta* referring to thick or clumsy things. Besides **ticca* existed **tacca* and **tucca* with variations of meanings less marked but perceptible. Is it then astonishing that *-attus*, *-ottus*, *-accus*, *occus*, *uccus* developed by the side of *ittus* and *iccus*? *-attus* is depreciative and refers to animals: **verrattus*, **corbattus*, **cervattus* (O. Fr. *corbat*, *cervat*, Fr. *verrat* "boar-pig"). In some way, they rhyme with **patta* "paw" while **pissatum* "urine of cattle" rhymes with **bratta* "dirt" (Gen. *brata*, Ital. *imbrattare* "to soil", *sbrattare* "to clean"), *-ottus* similarly rhymed with *potta*, **motta*, **ciotta*, etc. Like *-accus*, *-occus*, *-uccus*, it was only moderately used in Vulgar Latin. The shades of meaning are generally better preserved in Italian (Meyer-Lübke Gramm. II) than in French where *-ottus*, e. g. is simply diminutive. *occa*, *ucca* in French are only sporadically found: *épinoche* (**spinocca*) "stickle-back", *mailloche* "beetle", Lieg. *biloc* (*bulluca*) "small apple", propr. "small ball", etc. The antiquity of *-occus* is shown by the existence of Sard. *piccioccu* "small".

The formation and the extension of the suffixes *-ittus*, *-attus*, *-ottus*, *-iccus*, *-accus*, *-occus* is a striking proof of the importance of apophonic and rhyming tendencies in the development of those elements of Vulgar Latin vocabulary which have freed themselves from tradition.

These tendencies ought thus to be taken into account in any etymological research dealing with Latin words especially when one has to do with familiar terms or with words referring to country life. And since such tendencies are deeply rooted in the mentality of the speakers, it is obvious that they are still active in the Romance languages and should never be neglected by Romance scholars.

I hope that this article may be useful not only for its general conclusion but also for the etymologies proposed in it for a good many *cruces* among the substrata of Romance words, such as **patta* and *potta*, **potta* and **motta*, *maccus* and **mocca*. A new interpretation is given of *flaccus* and *floccus*. The onomatopoeic character of these words (at least partly) has been emphasized as it has been for *cicum*, *coccum*, *cinnus*, *gutta*, **jutta*, **jumpare*, **froccus* and *broccus*. Strange words as **rocca*, **greppa*, **crappa*, have been treated as merely imitative while possible borrowings as **clocca*, **biccus* have been shown to have penetrated into Latin as members of preexisting series. A foreign origin, on the other hand, has been denied to **latta* as well as to **patta* and **mottus* in spite of the current opinion.

Certainty, of course, is not attainable in the study of such obscure elements of language and probably better explanations will sometime be proposed for several among the words I have mentioned. The principle, however, will hold good and further research, undoubtedly, will result in emphasizing the importance of these phenomena, which, though not quite unnoticed, are far from having hitherto received due attention on the part of Romance scholars.

ALBERT J. CARNOY.

UNIVERSITIES OF LOUVAIN AND PENNSYLVANIA.

III.—THE PROSECUTION OF LIFELESS THINGS AND ANIMALS IN GREEK LAW.

[CONCLUDED FROM A. J. P. XXXVIII 175.]

PART II.

As for the management of the Prytaneum court, the old question so long discussed as to whether the fifty-one judges known as the ephetae had charge of it,¹ and the discrepancy in two statements of Pollux, who in one passage (VIII, 90) says the King-archon, but in another (VIII, 120) the phylobasileis or tribe-Kings, were in charge, have been settled by an authoritative statement in the recently discovered Constitution of Athens of Aristotle, to the effect that both King and tribe-Kings judged.² Thus though the ephetae, in charge of the homicide courts at the Palladium, Delphinium and Phreatto, were in course of time replaced by popular, i. e. heliastic, jurors appointed by lot,³ in all probability the court of the Prytaneum,

¹ Poll. VIII 120, and Harpocrat. s. v. *έφέται*, state that those officials sat at the Prytaneum. Their mistake probably grew out of the fact that their source, Demosth. 23, 65–77, juxtaposed the five murder courts; cf. Busolt, Griech. Gesch. II² 234, n. 2. J. Miller, Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyclopädie, V, p. 1653 (art. Drakon).

² 57. 4. Lipsius, Sitzungsber. der sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss., Phil-Historische Classe, 1891, pp. 41–52, was the first to point out that the King and tribe-Kings acted together. For the older discussion see Philippi, Der Areopag und die Epheten (1874), p. 18 sq.

³ Aristotle, 57. 4 speaks of *οι λαχόντες* having charge of the three courts mentioned in his day; the word *έφέται* however does not appear in the MS. of his work but has been inserted by Kenyon (Suppl. Aristotelicum, III, Pt. II, p. 67), being taken from Harpocration, s. v. *έφέται*, who, he supposes, took it from Aristotle. Others believe *οι λαχόντες* exclude the word *έφέται*; thus Kaibel, Stil und Text der Πολ. Αθ. des Aristoteles, 240, supplies *ἄνδρες* instead, while Gilbert, Staatsaltert. I, 424, n. 2, supplies *δικασταί* or *ἡλιασταί*; Lipsius, op. cit. 130, no. 30, also is against inserting *έφέται*. But it may be said in favor of *έφέται* that Demosthenes, a contemporary of Aristotle, speaks of them in murder trials in his day: 23. 38.

owing to the fact that its competence was limited to rare cases of a ceremonial character, never had anything to do with them and its judges were not so replaced.¹ The King-archon, therefore, true to his inheritance,² had the presidency of the court of the Prytaneum, as he did of all other homicide trials.³

Whether the court before which, according to the general assumption based on the amnesty law of Solon,⁴ trials of conspiracy against the State (*τυραννίς*) were tried, was identical with the court under discussion cannot be finally decided with our present knowledge. That the word “*καταδικασθέντες*” used in the passage of Plutarch cited refers to the companions of Cylon, who in 612 B. C. seized the Acropolis with the intention of setting up a tyranny,⁵ is generally assumed. In another passage Plutarch says the remnants of the conspirators, still under pollution, were persuaded by Solon to be tried by a court of 300 nobles and that all were found guilty and exiled, even the bones of the dead being dug up and scattered beyond the borders.⁶ Many scholars believe this decision was handed down by the Areopagus,⁷ and that all such trials were heard

¹ So Miller, p. 1652. But Lipsius, pp. 20-1, believes down to Solon's time they sat in all five courts of homicide; on p. 27, n. 85 (cf. p. 131), he says they may have sat at the Prytaneum even down to Aristotle's day, when finally they were replaced by the King-archon and tribe-Kings.

² After the passing of royalty the royal name was retained as *#ρχων βασιλεύς*, since on him devolved the sacred rites inseparably connected with the name of King, i. e. charge of the Eleusinian mysteries, the Lenaea, Anthesteria, sacrifices, games, etc.; Aristot. 57, 1, Poll. VIII, 90: cf. Demosth. 35, 48; 39, 9. The eponymous archon, on the other hand, had the guardianship of orphans, widows, heiresses, etc.—a sort of Lord Chancellor of Athens; see Demosth. 35, 48 (law, 43, 75), Arist. 56. 6; etc.

³ Arist. 57. 2; cf. Bekk., Anecd. graec. 310, 6 sq.; Harpocrat. Phot. Suidas, s. v. *ἡγεμονία δικαιστηρίου*; etc.

⁴ Plut. Solon, 19 (=Solon's 13th table) πλὴν δοσοι ἐκ πρυτανελον καταδικασθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπὶ τυραννίδι. Here the word-order shows that cases of tyranny were tried at a prytaneum; cf. Andoc. I, 78. On the amnesty law see Philippi, Das Amnestiegesetz des Solon und die Prytanen der Naukraren zur Zeit des Kydonischen Aufstandes, Rhein. Mus. XXIX (1874), p. 18 sq.

⁵ Herod. V. 71; Thucyd. I, 126; etc.

⁶ Solon, 12.

⁷ e. g. Lipsius, op. cit. p. 23, following the earlier opinion of Westermann, Ber. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. 1849, p. 151 sq.; Gleue, De

there. Others, like Keil,¹ speak for the identity of the two courts, while still others, as Busolt,² leave the question in doubt. It is of importance to us in our later discussion of the age of the Prytaneum trials. It would seem impossible to get any other meaning out of the words “*ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων*” than to refer them to the tribe-Kings who were in charge of the Prytaneum court.

Down to the fourth century B. C. the courts at the Palladium (for the trial of unpremeditated murder) and Delphinium (for lawful homicide) seem to have kept their importance.³ Though in early times the Prytaneum court also, because of its religious character, may have been important, yet, like the court at the Phreatto (where those banished for murder and accused a second time were tried), it must have lost gradually its influence. In Aristotle's day, it still continued, as we have seen, under the old religious supervision of the King-archon and his associates. However, in his *Politics*, Aristotle makes no mention of it in his enumeration of eight necessary courts, which shows it had outgrown its usefulness.⁴ In primitive days, when men held

homicidarum in Areopago Atheniens iudicio (Diss. Inaug. Göttingen, 1804), p. 10 sq., who followed Stahl, *Rhein. Mus.* XLVI (1891), p. 481 sq., who based the theory on a statement to that effect in a schol. on Aristoph. *Equit.* 445. Lipsius, p. 131, believes the prytaneum of the amnesty law was an ancient court, no longer known to us, which had to do with the *πρυτάνεις* of the naucrarias, and so different from the Prytaneum court under discussion. He believes it may have sat at the Prytaneum, which was an official seat (cf. Arist. *Constit.* 3. 5), and that it was composed of nine archons sitting with the basileus as president. Aristotle, *Constit.* 8. 4, says the Areopagus tried conspirators against the State under a law of impeachment which Solon enacted concerning such offenses. He is certainly referring to his day.

¹ Solon. *Verfass.* p. 108 sq.; cf. von Schöffer (quoted by Miller, *Pauly-Wissowa*, V, p. 1653); Bötticher, I. c., p. 347. Photius, s. v. *ναυκρατία*, says Solon found the Prytaneum in existence; cf. also *Etym. Magn.* 395, 50.

² Griech. Staats- und Rechtsalt.³, 160.

³ So Busolt, Griech. Staats- und Rechtsalt. (*Müller's Handbuch*, IV, 1), p. 273, who thinks all the homicide courts were limited in the fourth century.

⁴ IV. 16. 2-4, p. 1300 b. In this passage he mentions, though disparagingly, the court of the Phreatto: “There may be a fourth court in which murderer who have fled from justice are tried after their return; such as the court of the Phreatto is said to have been at Athens. But cases of this sort rarely happen at all even in large cities” (Jowett).

animistic conceptions of nature, trials of lifeless things must have had a greater importance. They were retained chiefly for conservative religious reasons until, by Aristotle's day, they had become almost ceremonial in character, a species of mock trial.¹ The four Ionic gentile tribes of Attica, dating from the remotest antiquity,² had gradually lost all political significance and their chiefs finally retained only religious functions. Sitting in judgment at these ceremonial trials was probably their last function historically.³ However, this court, like that held at the Phreatto, seems never to have been formally abrogated down to the end of antiquity, if we can trust the evidence of Pausanias.⁴

Before discussing the origin of the ideas at the base of these trials, let us briefly consider whether any accounts of the trials at the Prytaneum have come down to us. The only example known to me of the first case—the trial of an unknown murderer—is found in the oration of the pseudo-Demosthenes⁵

¹ All modern scholars speak of the ceremonial character of these trials: e. g. Philippi, op. cit. p. 16; Busolt, op. cit. p. 273; Schömann, Griech. Alterthümer⁴ (ed. Lipsius), 1897, I, p. 512: "Endlich beim Prytaneion wurde nicht sowohl ein wirkliches Gericht gehalten als vielmehr eine religiöse Ceremonie vorgenommen"; Pauly-Wissowa, II, p. 284, s. v. *ἀψύχων δίκαι*; Gilbert, p. 430; Lipsius, p. 131; Smith, Dict. Antiq. art. Prytaneum; E. Curtius, Stadtgesch. p. 302; etc.

² The population was originally divided into four tribes (*φυλαῖ*), viz.: Geleontes, Hopletes, Aegicores and Argades, presided over by kings. Aristotle (Const. 41, 2), in enumerating eleven changes in the Athenian constitution before his day, says the people in the days of Ion were divided into tribes and chose kings. The functions as well as the origin of these kings are little known: they probably from the first enjoyed both religious and legal functions, especially the supervision of sacrifices (so Pollux, VIII, 111) like the Roman rex sacrificulus; cf. Livy, 2. 2. 1, 6. 41. 9. See Aristot. Fragm. 349 and cf. Busolt, op. cit. p. 273.

³ Cf. Keil, op. cit. p. 108 f.; and n. 76; Wilamowitz, Aristoteles und Athen, I, p. 94 sq.; Lipsius, p. 25, n. 81. In the fourth century we hear of the cost of certain offerings being paid from their treasury: Bull. corr. hell. III, 69; Hermes, XIV, p. 507. We know Solon retained the old tribes as the base of his constitution. Comp. Aristotle, Const. 8. 3, who also mentions that there were still four phylobasileis. That they led a shadowy existence even in Clisthenes' time is shown by an inscription: C. I. A. II, 844.

⁴ I. 28. 10.

⁵ Orat. 47. The loose and feeble style of this speech makes it almost certain that it was not written by Demosthenes, but by a contemporary.

against Euergus and Mnesibulus. This was a proceeding against the defendants for having given false testimony in a trial between the plaintiff and Theophemus, a brother of Euergus. In the plaintiff's absence from home, the defendants had entered the apartment of his wife and children, and in attempting to steal certain articles of furniture, had so injured an aged freedwoman who resisted them, that she died in six days. After her death the plaintiff went to the legal interpreters¹ to learn what course of action to pursue. They stated the law and also advised, that inasmuch as he was not present at the murder and had no other witnesses than his wife and children, "not to make proclamation against anyone by name, but generally against those who had perpetrated the deed and committed the murder".² The case does not, however, seem to have come up for trial at the Prytaneum, for the man was also advised to bear his misfortune as patiently as possible and to perform the necessary religious ceremonies. Of the third case—the trial of animals—so far as I am aware there are no examples known, and, if we except the trial of the axe of the first ox-slayer, none of the second. However, that there were similar courts of procedure against inanimate things in other parts of the Greek world, is evidenced by a few examples, though they are vouched for by late writers. This shows that the same primitive animistic conceptions of nature were characteristic of the Greek mind generally.³

Perhaps the best instance of such a trial is that of the statue of the Olympic victor Theagenes on the island of Thasos.⁴

¹ *Ἐπηγγύτατοι*, § 68. They were expounders at Athens of the sacred rites and customs and of the laws, like the Roman "interpretes religionum". Cf. Aristotle, Constit. II, I (*ἐπηγγεῖσται*); Isaeus, 73. 24; Plato, Euthyph. 4 D and 9 A; Laws, 759 C-E and 775 A; etc.

² § 69.

³ We know the murder procedure of Athens was imitated by other Greek states: Isocrates, Panegyr. 40; cf. Gilbert, p. 535; Lipsius, p. 619; etc.

⁴ Theagenes, son of Timosthenes, later because of his exploits called the son of Heracles, won in boxing in Ol. 75 (= 480 B. C.) and in the pancratium in Ol. 76 (= 476 B. C.). He also won three times in boxing at Delphi, nine times in boxing and once in the pancratium at the Isthmus and nine times in boxing at Nemea. He also won the stadium at Phthia and is said to have won 1400 crowns in all (Paus. 6. 11. 5; or

Pausanias recounts how a former enemy of the victor used to come each night after his death and scourge his statue as if he were punishing Theagenes himself. At last the statue checked his insolence by falling upon and killing him. The man's sons prosecuted it for murder, and it was found guilty and cast beyond the borders, i. e. into the sea. The lands of the Thasians became unfruitful and they were advised by the Delphian oracle to bring back their exiles. This they did but the dearth kept up. A second time they were advised: "But you have forgotten your great Theagenes." They did not know how to recover the statue, but finally it was caught in a net by some fishermen and brought ashore. Then it was set up in its old place in the agora, where Pausanias says they still in his day sacrificed to it as to a god.¹ Several similar examples occur in Greek literature, but this seems to be the only case in which an actual trial and condemnation are recorded.²

Having discussed, then, the nature of the trials held at the Prytaneum, let us consider whether any data exist from which

1200, according to Plut. Praecept. reipubl. gerend. 15). See on Theagenes, Paus. 6. 11. 2-9: Förster, Die Sieger in den Olymp. Spielen, Nos. 191, 196; Hyde, de Olymp. stat. (Halle, 1903), No. 4; etc.

¹ VI. 11. 9: he says the victor's statue was set up in many places in Greece and honored by the natives as able to heal diseases. Lucian, Deor. concil. 12, also says the statue at Thasos cured fevers like the one of Polydamas at Olympia. Athenagoras says, Supplic. pro Christ. 14, p. 62 (Otto), the Thasians worshipped it as a god. See on such worship, Rohde, Psyche, I. p. 181; Ukert, Ueber Dämonen, Heroen und Genien (Abhandl. d. k. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-histor. Cl. II (1850), pp. 139, sq., esp. 183), and Gerhard, Ueber Wesen, Verwandtschaft und Ursprung d. Dämonen und Genien (Abhandl. d. k. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin, Phil.-histor. Cl. 1852, pp. 237-66); etc. The story of Theagenes' trial is told also by Dio Chrysostom, Orat. XXXI, 618 R. 340 M. (Teubner I, p. 377), and is mentioned by Eusebius, Praep. evang. V. 34, p. 231 c, d, 232 a. Dio Chrysostom, I. c., formulates the Thasian law, an almost exact duplicate of the Athenian.

² Thus the statue of the Olympic victor Euthymus of Locri, who won in boxing in Ols. 74 (484 b. c.), 76, 77 (476-472 b. c.); see Paus. VI, 6, 4 (and VI, 11, 4); Förster, Nos. 185, 195, 207; Hyde, No. 56. Eusebius, Praep. evang. v. 34, p. 232 b, d, tells a story about his statue almost exactly like the one about Theagenes. Another example is that of the bronze ox of Philesius at Olympia, set up as a votive offering of the Corcyraeans, which caused the death of a small boy, who, while playing beneath it, suddenly raised his head, and broke it against the belly of the ox: Paus. V. 27, 9-10; cf. X. 9. 3.

we can form an idea of the origin of the court. Pausanias, in mentioning the similar court at Thasos, says that the Thasians in their laws about lifeless things followed those of Draco at Athens.¹ In another passage already quoted, however, he connects the trials of inanimate things at Athens with the festival of the Diipolia, which he says goes back to the royal period.²

As we have seen we can get no proof for the date of origin from the court of the ephetae, which many scholars, following Pollux,³ believe was instituted by Draco, for we have seen that there is no good reason for thinking these judges ever had to do with the Prytaneum. And even if it were clear that they had, too much doubt has been cast on the statement of Pollux that Draco founded the ephetae, to help us in dating the origin of these trials.⁴ So we must look elsewhere for guidance in solving the problem.

K. Bötticher has made an ingenious argument to show that the court dates back to prehistoric times.⁵ Since Pollux says the phylobasileis sat in council in the King's palace near the Bucoleum,⁶ and we learn from other sources that the Bucoleum was near the Prytaneum,⁷ we know these buildings were in the immediate neighborhood of one another. Furthermore, inas-

¹ 6. 11. 6. The same statement is also made by the Schol. on Aeschylus, Septem., 179.

² I. 28. 10.

³ VIII. 125; cf. Timaeus, Lex. Plat. 127.

⁴ Philippi was the first to cast doubt on Pollux's statement by showing he may have gotten the mistake from a wrong reading of a passage in Demosthenes, 43. 57, and so he was against the idea that Draco had to do with the founding of the court of the ephetae: see N. Jahrb. f. cl. Phil. CV (1872), pp. 578 and 604 sq.; cf. Der Areopag und die Epheten, p. 138 sq. He was followed by Lange, Die Epheten u. der Areopag von Solon, p. 3 sq.; Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, I. 479. 1; and recently by Miller, Pauly-Wissowa, V, p. 2825. Schömann, N. Jahrb. f. cl. Phil. CXI (1875), p. 153, and recently Gilbert, Jahrb. f. Philol. Suppl. Bd. XXIII, p. 493 (cf. Staatsalt.², I, 136, n. 1) are against Philippi and believe with Busolt, Staatsalt.², p. 273, that Draco founded the ephetae. If we don't accept the latter view we must leave the matter in doubt. See Miller, I. c. pp. 2824-6, art. ephetai; Lipsius, Jahresber. XV, 284 sq.; Hermann-Thumser, Griech. Staatsalt. I, 2, 355 sq.; cf. Busolt, Griech. Gesch.² II, 234 sq. and Gilbert, Staatsalt.² I, 424 sq.

⁵ Philologus, Suppl. Bd. III (1878), p. 345 sq.

⁶ VIII, III.

⁷ Aristotle, Constit. 3. 5; Bekker, op. cit., 449, 19-21; Suidas, s. v. *ἀρχων*; etc.

much as we know from both Aristotle and Pollux that these same phylobasileis sat in judgment at the Prytaneum, it follows that the Basileum and Prytaneum formed one and the same court, for it would be inconceivable that two courts, presided over by the same judges, were in the same peribolus. Bötticher believes that before the synoecism of Theseus the tribe-Kings met the King at his basileum, which he thinks may have been originally only an open-air cathedra. When Theseus constructed the prytaneum in the narrower sense of the word, by adding to the basileum a hearth, banquet hall (*έστιατήριον*) and their appendages, which, perhaps, had the form of a stoa and exedra, the court still sat in the basileum, though it was known thereafter as the court *ἐπὶ τῷ πρυτανεῖῳ*, a name which it kept to the latest days. Until the prytaneum in the narrow sense of the word was added to the basileum, he believes the old hearth remained above on the Acropolis; with the transference of the Acropolis palace to the lower city, the hearth came too. Thus Theseus joined the Prytaneum with its eternal hearth to the old official seat of the tribe-Kings, which still retained the ancient court.

Whatever truth there may be in this theory, we must, quite apart from it or any similar line of argument, look for the beginnings of this curious court in prehistoric times. Whatever the date of the founding of the other murder courts at Athens, whether, as many assume, they go back only to the legislation of Draco, or are earlier, we can be certain that the ceremonial trials held at the Prytaneum must have existed from remote times, for the ideas underlying them are based on the primitive view that both things and animals are responsible for their acts. For such animistic conceptions of nature belong to the infancy of races as of individuals. Nor is it strange that a people who saw something divine in every tree, fountain and river, should have endowed common things with life and animals with responsible intelligence. The strange thing is, not that such notions should have developed in primitive Greece, but that they should have clung to the Greek imagination throughout the history of the race, and that they should have been countenanced by their greatest thinker. It is only, perhaps, when we fully understand the conservative spirit of the state religion and ritual that we can see how this was possible.

We know, that though such beliefs are characteristic of primitive peoples, they leave their traces among the most civilized. The numerous prosecutions of animals before state and ecclesiastical courts in Europe—there are cases dating from the ninth century into the twentieth—show to what an extent the idea of the moral responsibility of animals may develop.¹ And the laws of deodand in England—whereby personal chattels, such as carts and wheels which had caused the death of a man, were “forfeited to God, that is to the King, God’s Lieutenant on earth, to be distributed in works of charity for the appeasing of God’s wrath”²—which were not repealed until the reign of Victoria,³ show how far animistic notions may survive among a highly cultured people.

The object of Plato’s ideal legislation, which we have discussed, was exactly the same as that which was at the bottom of all the laws against murder at Athens—the appeasing of the Erinys or avenging spirit of the dead man.⁴ If this were not done and every attempt made to bring the murderer to justice, calamity was sure to befall the community. Antiphon says of a certain murderer: “It is harmful for you that this man, vile and polluted as he is, should enter the precincts of the gods to defile them, or should poison with his infection the guiltless person whom he meets at the same table. From such causes spring plagues of barrenness and reverses in men’s fortunes”⁵ In a final analysis, it resolves itself into nothing less than the *lex talionis*, the oldest and deepest-rooted in human nature of

¹ See E. P. Evans, *The Criminal Prosecution and Capital Punishment of Animals*, London 1906, and other works cited by him. The first case he adduces is the prosecution of moles in the valley of Aosta in 824; the last was the condemning to death of a dog which had helped its master kill and rob a man in the village of Délémont, Switzerland, 1906. In all he has brought together over 200 such prosecutions.

² Coke, *Third Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England* (1680), p. 57; cf. Blackstone, *Commentary on the Laws of England*, Bk. I, ch. 8.

³ In 1846: see Stephen, *Hist. of the Criminal Law of England*, III, 78; Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law before the time of Edward I*, II, 473.

⁴ The medieval church taught in effect the same doctrine, substituting the daemons of the Christian theology for the Furies of Mythology.

⁵ First Tetralogy, A, 10; in the Second, Γ, 8, he speaks of *θεῖα κηλίς* or “divine stain”; cf. Aeschyl. *Eumen.* 815, where the Erinyes threaten Attica with *λευχῆν ἄφυλλος, ἀτεκνός*—“leafless blight and childlessness”; cf. Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 25 and 101.

all laws, axiomatic in primitive societies and lingering on among those most advanced. Aeschylus vindicated the ways of God with men by insisting that the law of Righteousness was all-pervading. If a man suffers, it is merely a divine visitation of sin. If circumstances make it difficult to understand why this man or that suffers, or why he suffers more than his offence would seem to merit—search his family history and you will surely find that a commensurate sin has been committed somewhere. So the belief in destiny helped the doctrine of retribution.¹ Nowhere is the Greek law of "blood for blood"—whether the slaying was wilful or accidental made no difference, for in either case the moral equilibrium had been disturbed—more strongly affirmed than in the Choephoroi, where Orestes says:

"Just meed may the unjust obtain!
Earth and ye powers of Hades, hear my prayer."

To which the chorus replies :

"For law it is, when on the plain
Blood hath been shed, new blood must fall,
Carnage doth to the Fury call;
Avenger of the earlier stain,
She comes, new Ruin leading in her train."²

Inwoven with this idea of retribution was the whole Greek conception of personifying inanimate objects. A most striking example is found in the first stasimon of the Electra of Sophocles, where the Chorus, encouraged by the tidings of Clytaemestra's dream predicting early retribution on Agamemnon's murderers, says: "Not forgetful is the two-edged axe of bronze that struck the blow of old and slew him with foul cruelty".³ Here the very axe is imagined as harboring a

¹ Cf. Jebb, Classical Greek Poetry, pp. 181-2. He shows that Sophocles also, with his milder doctrine of fate, believed in the same notion, though he treated it as a less prominent agency: he saw it working in the houses of Pelops and Labdacus: a comparison, however, of the Oedipus Tyrannus and the Septem shows the difference in the application of the idea by the two writers.

² 398-404 (Swanwick).

³ 484-6 (Jebb): cf. also l. 99, where Electra speaks of the φόνιος πέλεκυς—"the murderous axe"; and cf. Trachinia, 856-9, where the "dark steel of the spear" "bore off" Iole from "high Oechalia's peaks".

grudge against those who had wrongly used it and brought pollution on it. Nor are such instances, which can be multiplied from Greek literature, merely the result of poetic coloring, but they were based on a real belief inherent in the race. Aristotle, speaking of "chance circumstances", instances the statue of Mitys at Argos, which fell upon his murderer and killed him.¹ Similarly Theocritus tells how a statue of Eros, which stood on a pedestal overlooking a bathing-place, leaped upon and killed a youth bathing beneath it because he had driven his lover to suicide by his refusal.² In these cases there was no prosecution as in that of the statue of Theagenes, but the same ideas of revenge underlay them.

The operation of the law of reprisal seems still clearer in the case of animals. Various opinions have been advanced since Thomas Aquinas published his *Summa theologica* down to our time to explain the prosecutions of animals inaugurated by the medieval church.³ I have discussed many of these theories elsewhere,⁴ and here need only touch upon one which has been applied also to the prosecutions of animals at Athens. Ayrault,⁵ at the end of the sixteenth century, explained such punishment in the Middle Ages as a symbolic act intended to inspire a horror of crime in the minds of men. In the last century this theory has gained much adherence. Thus Leon Ménabréa⁶ believed the church was eager to revive in the people a sentiment for justice, since through sad experience they had come to

¹ *Poetics*, 9. 12, p. 1452 a, 7 sq.

² *Idylls*, XXIII, 59-60: cf. Callimachus, *Epigr.* VIII (Sch.), who recounts a similar death.

³ Aquinas (1225-74) explained them on the basis that animals were the embodiments of evil spirits, so that it was not they that were aimed at but Satan through them. His theory was helped by the fact that the Old Testament frequently mentions animals—e. g. adders, dragons, Leviathans, scorpions, etc.—as such incarnations. It is the basis of the view of Karl von Amira, *Thierstrafen und Thierprocesse* (1891), p. 169.

⁴ *The Prosecution and Punishment of Animals and Things in the Middle Ages and Modern Times*, Univ. Penn. Law Review, vol. 64, no. 7 (May, 1916), pp. 696-730, especially p. 716 sq.

⁵ *Des procès faits au cadavre, aux cendres, à la mémoire aux bestes brutes* (Angers, 1591), fol. 24; cf. Tissot, *Le droit pénal*, I, 19 sq.

⁶ *De l'origine de la forme et de l'esprit des jugements rendus au moyen âge contre les animaux* (Chambéry, 1846); cf. the similar view of Du Boys (author of the *Histoire du droit criminel des peuples modernes*, Paris, 1854-60), quoted by d'Addosio, *Bestie delinquenti* (1892), p. 139.

know right only as synonymous with might. More recently, Thonissen¹ has given this as an explanation of the Athenian trials. But any such "moral" theory is far from satisfactory. The true solution of the medieval trials seems far simpler. Though the maledictions and excommunications of the church may have been a magic means of getting rid of scourges of insects rather than punishments, it seems probable that the condemnation of animals was at bottom merely the result of feelings of revenge.² The animal had to suffer because its act had aroused indignation and because it was looked upon as responsible.³ This feeling of revenge can be traced back to an old European custom. Thus, as Westermarck observes, among practically all the Aryan nations of ancient Europe—among the Greeks,⁴ Romans,⁵ Teutons,⁶ Celts⁷ and Slavs⁸—an animal which had done serious injury, such as biting or killing a

¹ *Le droit pénal de la république Athénienne* (1875), p. 414; he says, "on frappait l'animal auteur d'un homicide, afin que le pueple, en voyant périr un être privé de raison, conçût une grande horreur pour l'effusion du sang humain".

² Brunner, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des deutschen und französischen Rechtes* (1894), p. 517 sq.; cf. Westermarck, *Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, I (1906), pp. 256 sq.

³ Post, *Die Grundlagen des Rechtes* (1884), p. 359; K. Friedrichs, *Mensch und Person* (in *Das Ausland*), LXIV (1891), p. 300, 315.

⁴ Xenoph. *Hell.* II, 4. 41; *Plut.* Solon 24. A similar ordinance about muzzling dogs is found also in the Avesta (Vendidad, Fargard XIII, 29–30) where, if a mad dog appears without barking, the people are enjoined to "place round its neck a wooden collar to which is attached on both sides a muzzle, of an ashti (i. e. the thickness of a brick) if the wood is hard, or two if it is soft". But here nothing is said about giving up the animal. In Solon's law, the animal can be returned to its owner, if compensation for the injury is made.

⁵ *Institutiones* (of Justinian), ed. P. Krüger, in *Corpus juris civilis*, I, IV, 9; *Digesta*, ed. T. Mommsen, *ibid.* I, IX, 1.

⁶ *Lex Salica* (The Ten Texts, etc. ed. by J. Hessel, 1880), Cod. I, 36; *Lex Ripuariorum*, 46 (in *Georgisch, Corpus juris Germanici antiqui*, Halea, 1738); cf. J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer* (ed. A. Heusler and R. Hübner, Leipsic, 1899), pp. 664 sq.; Brunner, op. cit. p. 513.

⁷ *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Ireland* (1865–79), I, 161; IV, 177, 179, 181; *Welsh Laws*, IV, 1, 17 (in *Ancient Laws and Institutions of Wales*, 1841, p. 391).

⁸ W. A. Macieowski, *Slavische Rechtsgesch.*, Stuttgart, 1835–9, IV, p. 333.

man, had to be given up to the injured party or his family. Here there was no trial; but it is inconceivable that the animal was given up as compensation. It is certain that it was done for retaliation, that the victim or his family might be revenged.¹ Later on in the Middle Ages the form of reprisal was changed into a regular system of punishment, which implies that the principle according to which punishment succeeded revenge in the case of human crimes had been extended by analogy to comprehend injuries done by animals. The beast was retaliated upon for the simple reason that it was regarded as a rational being. This feeling was not only at the bottom of the trials of animals at the Prytaneum and in the courts of the Middle Ages, but it has been common to all ages and to all grades of human society. The savage, in wreaking his vengeance, makes no distinction between men and beasts. In the Koran we read that animals will share in the resurrection and be judged according to their works.² In Zoroaster's legislation a dog is said to have the characters of eight different sorts of people.³ We know that animals were admitted as witnesses in medieval courts,⁴ that their youth was there a ground of acquittal,⁵ and that a

¹ For works cited see Westermarck, I, 256, n. 1.

² VI. 38; cf. Sell, *Faith of Islam*, p. 223; for these examples see Westermarck, I, 258-60.

³ *Vendidad*, XIII, 44-48; Darmesteter thus translates verse 44: "Le chien à lui seul a huit caractères . . . d'un prêtre, guerrier, laboureur, musicien, etc." However my colleague, Dr. Carnoy of Louvain, says this is ambiguous, as it implies that the dog is the receptacle of eight different natures. The Avestan word *asta-bifra* literally means "is the equivalent of", and the sentence is translated more exactly by Wolf in his rendering of the Avesta (Strassburg, 1910, based on C. Bartholomae): "Der eine Hund lässt sich mit achten vergleichen". Dr. Carnoy adds that in the following lines the word used is *haya*, which is of obscure origin but apparently akin to the modern Persian word *xim*, "character", in meaning; it is translated by Wolf as "Gebaren": "es zeigt ein Gebaren wie ein Priester, etc." Thus in substance the meaning is that the dog is comparable to eight beings in some aspect of his nature—a tribute to his value.

⁴ Cf. Michelet, *Origines du droit français*, pp. 76, 279 sq.; Chambers, *Book of Days*, I, p. 129.

⁵ Thus a sow and her six pigs were tried for murdering a child at Savigny-sur-Etang (Bourgogne) in 1456; the pigs were acquitted partly because of their youth: *Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquités de France*, VIII (1827), pp. 441-5; Chambers, I, p. 128-9.

repetition of the crime aggravated the penalty.¹ And it is not only ordinary minds which have ascribed intelligent responsibility to brutes. Porphyry² says all philosophers, who have studied the natures of animals, agree that they are possessed of reason to a certain extent. Christian writers have gone further. Thus in the sixteenth century, Benoit³ argued that animals could talk—an idea as old as Homer, and in the next century a book was written in Latin to prove that they could reason better than men.⁴ At about the same time Crell⁵ maintained that they had faculties analogous to reason and free will, as well as vices and virtues, and so deserved rewards and punishments. His ideas, to some extent, have found an echo in the scientific works of the modern school of anthropologists.⁶

Thus we see that the trials of animals at Athens were only one manifestation of a very general principle.

In the earlier part of this discussion I have shown that in all probability the origin of the strange ritual of the buphonia is to be sought in some form of totemism or in some allied primitive fact. In the latter part I have found the origin of the Prytaneum trials of inanimate things and of animals embedded in the hoary *lex talionis*, coupled with the usual Greek notion of personification, which is merely a relic of prehistoric animism. Thus there appear to be two different sets of ideas quite independent of one another at the bottom of the buphonia and the trials, so that I conclude that there is little inherent probability in the tradition handed down by Pausanias that the trials of things at Athens originated in the ceremonial process of the axe used by the first ox-slayer at the celebration of the festival of the Diipolia.

In conclusion let us briefly consider whether there are traces of ideas elsewhere in the ancient world similar to those under-

¹ Pertile, *Gli Animali in giudizio* (*Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di scienze, etc.* Ser. VI, Vol. IV, 1884-5), p. 148.

² Op. cit. III, 6.

³ Quoted by d'Addosio, p. 214.

⁴ By Rorarius; *Quod animalia bruta ratione utantur melius homine*, Paris, 1648.

⁵ In his *Ethica Christiana* (1663?); cf. Westermarck, I, p. 259.

⁶ e. g. Lombroso, *Il Delitto negli animali* (*Archivio di Psichiatria*, II, 1881).

lying the Prytaneum trials. In general it may be said that such criminal prosecutions are found only among the ancient Teutonic peoples. But there are many analogies of the Greek notion of regarding things and animals as intelligent and responsible agents.

Thus in India the gods of the Vedic age cursed the trees which had injured them.¹ In Persia Cambyses, the son and successor of Cyrus the Great, is said to have accidentally inflicted with his sword a mortal wound on his thigh, the very spot where he had sacrilegiously given the death blow to the sacred bull Apis.² To the Greek Pausanias this was the best example of an inanimate object inflicting of its own accord a righteous punishment.³ The childish rage of Xerxes in scourging and fettering the Hellespont,⁴ and the vengeance wreaked by Cyrus on the river Gyndes by dissipating it into 360 channels,⁵ are well-known illustrations of the same principle.

The exact antithesis of the Greek custom of trying guilty things is seen in the Roman law ascribed to Numa,⁶ and mentioned by Cicero and other Latin writers,⁷ according to which "if a weapon have sped from the hand rather than been aimed",⁸ the weapon is not tried, but the owner must tender a ram as a peace offering to the victim's kinsmen. Dio Cassius⁹ tells a story about a statue of Apollo, which is very similar to the stories already mentioned about statues in Greece. It wept for three days after the death of Scipio Africanus and was then cut to pieces and cast into the sea by the Romans at the advice of their soothsayers.

The condemnation and banishment of inanimate objects which had caused the death of a man is seen in the spirit of

¹ Oldenburg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 518.

² Herod. III, 64. The point of the story is no less real if we read in Ctesias that the King died of a wound self-inflicted on his femoral muscle while whittling a piece of wood with a small knife.

³ I. 28. 11.

⁴ Herod. VII. 35.

⁵ Herod. I, 189: cf. 202 and V. 52.

⁶ So Servius in Verg. Ecl. IV. 43. It was later incorporated into the Twelve Tables as part of Tab. VIII: see R. Schöll, *Legis Duodecim Tabularum Reliquiae* (1866), p. 150, 24.

⁷ Topica, 17. 64; cf. Pro Tullio, 21. 51 and De Orat. III, 39, 158; also Boethius, Comm. in Cic. Top. I: Augustine, de liber. arbitr. I. 4. 9.

⁸ "Si telum manu fugit magisquam iecit."

⁹ fr. 83 M.: cf. Frazer, Pausanias, IV, p. 39.

the ancient Germanic codes. These do not content themselves with imposing general obligations to appease the relatives of the dead man, but determine very definitely the amount which must in each case be paid to the surviving kinsmen.¹ In the Ripuarian laws men were forbidden to use what had been the "auctor interfectionis".² In Anglo-Saxon laws, a sword with which a man had been slain was "nicht gesund", and consequently could not be used until the crime had been expiated. No cutler would sharpen or repair it until he had a certificate that it was free of taint.³ An old municipal law of Schleswig made a builder responsible if anyone were slain by a beam falling from his building, and he had to pay a fine of nine marks or give over the timber to the victim's kinsmen; if he persisted in building it into the house, the later owner might have to atone for the homicide with the whole building.⁴ According to a law of King Alfred in the ninth century, when men worked together in a forest, and one accidentally let a tree fall and kill a companion, the tree went to the victim's family if removed in thirty days.⁵ The later English laws of deodand already mentioned were Germanic in origin, despite Blackstone's notion that they were the evil invention of Popery. Here regular trials took place before juries composed of twelve men, who investigated the occurrence and evaluated the guilty object, which was then forfeited or accursed.⁶ But these latter examples bring us down into the Middle Ages.

There are, on the other hand, comparatively few examples of animals being treated as responsible agents among other nations of antiquity. There is a remarkable injunction in the religious laws of the Persians,⁷ according to which, if a mad dog is not muzzled and, without barking, wounds a man or a sheep, he is

¹ See C. Trummer, *Die Lehre von der Zurechnung* (1845), chs. 28-38; *Vorträge über Tortur, etc., in der Hamburgischen Rechtsgeschichte* (1844-9), I, 376 sq.; Brunner, *Forschungen*, p. 521 sq.; R. Schmid, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (1858).

² *Lex Ripuariorum* LXXI.

³ Cf. Evans, p. 187.

⁴ Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgesch.* II, 557, n. 31.

⁵ *Laws of Alfred* (*Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, 1840, II, 13).

⁶ Blackstone, par. 301, n. e.

⁷ *Vendidad, Fargard XIII*, v. 31: cf. 32 sq.; *Yashts, XXIV*, 44.

to be punished with the penalty of baodho-varshta, i. e. as for wilful murder.¹ This punishment takes the form of a progressive mutilation, corresponding with the number of persons or beasts bitten, beginning with the loss of the ears and ending with the amputation of the tail.² Thus insanity could not be pleaded in the animal's defence.³ So cruel a law seems utterly out of harmony with the kindly spirit which pervades the Avesta in general towards animals, which are recognized as creatures of Ahura Mazda, and it is also inconsistent with the measures taken by the Aryan peoples generally for the protection of the dog, an animal so useful to pastoral peoples. In fact, in a succeeding paragraph of the Vendidad, the Mazdayasnians are commanded to treat a mad dog humanely, "to wait upon him with medicaments and to try to heal him, just as they would care for a righteous man".⁴ Such a contradictory enactment may be explained as a later interpolation, dating possibly from the Sassanian period of Persian history, to which we owe our present form of the Avesta.

The Jewish enactments about killing animals are well known. Thus an ox which gored a man or woman to death was to be stoned and its flesh could not be eaten. The owner was quit, unless it was shown that the beast had been wont to gore and had not been guarded, when both ox and owner were put to death. If a ransom was laid on the ox, it had to be paid, the amount exacted for goring a servant being stated as thirty shekels of silver.⁵ Here, as in the Avestan writings, there are no certain indications of court proceedings. But the fact that in both accounts the penalty was increased with the number of injuries seems to show that adjudication must have been

¹ J. Darmesteter, *Le Zend Avesta*, II, p. 196, explains this as "le méfait volontaire et la peine qui suit"; cf. index, "méfait volontaire, en général l'homicide".

² vv. 32-4.

³ In the Middle Ages also a mad dog could not plead insanity in the courts. Thus in 1610 several mad dogs, which had torn a Franciscan novice, were tried and executed. The remarkable feature of this case is that they were tried by a legal tribunal, no account being taken of their rabies as an extenuating principle; see Evans, p. 176 (quoted from Mornacius).

⁴ XIII, 35.

⁵ Exodus, XXI, 28-32.

in the hands of judges. There are examples of anathemas against both animals and things in the Old Testament writings: thus Jahveh's cursing of the serpent in Eden¹ and David's malediction against the mountains of Gilboa that they receive neither dew nor rain² may be mentioned. Nor should we omit the cursing of the barren fig tree of Bethany by Jesus in the New Testament.³

There is no indication in Roman law that animals were held responsible for their acts. The phrase "animal quod sensu caret" occurs in the codes.⁴ Though the tradition that the commission drawn up to codify the laws of Rome—the later Lex XII Tabularum—went to Athens to consult Solon's code seems well founded,⁵ no imitation of the Prytaneum process can be traced, so far as the fragments of the law are known.⁶ But outside the realm of their legal system, we see in their ritual a curious survival of the doctrine of retribution according to which the descendants of animals which have committed crimes are punished. On the anniversary of the preservation of the Capitol from the night attack of the Gauls, the descendants of the geese, which gave the warning by their cackling, were honored, while those of the unvigilant dogs were treated with contumely. Thus Plutarch says that, still in his day, a dog fastened to a cross, and a goose lying upon rich cushions on a bed of state, were carried with pompous solemnity about the streets of Rome. Pliny adds that each year punishment was inflicted upon the dogs by crucifying several on a gibbet of elder between the temples of Juventus and Summanus and that the first duty of the censor was to farm out the feeding of the sacred geese.⁷ Such an imputation of merit and demerit was

¹ Genesis, III, 14-15.

² II Samuel, I, 21.

³ Matthew, XXI, 19.

⁴ e. g. *Digesta* (of Justinian), IX, 1; *Institut.* IV, 9.

⁵ See Bösch, *De XII tabularum lege a Graecis petita* (1893).

⁶ See the last recension by M. Voigt: *Gesch. und System des Civil- und Criminal-Rechtes, wie -Processes der XII Tafeln nebst deren Fragmenten* (Leipsic, 1883), I, p. 697 sq.: cf. Schöll, *op. cit.*, and F. Goodwin, *The XII Tables* (1886).

⁷ Plut. *De Fortuna Rom.* 12 and *Quaest. Rom.* 98; Pliny, *H. N.* 29, 14 and 10, 26. For the Gallic attack, see Livy, V. 47; Cicero, *Pro Roscio* 20; Servius ad Aen. 8, 652; Dionys. *Halic.* XIII, 7.

about as sensible as the Jewish idea of visiting the sins of the fathers on the children, or any such scheme of inherited guilt, or vicarious atonement. For they all—as Evans remarks¹—are applications of the primitive principle, according to which the whole tribe is held responsible for the conduct of each one of its members. It was still in vogue in the Middle Ages, when pigs were the commonest animals brought before the bar of justice, as they were supposed, on account of their Gadarene ancestors, to be the most liable to diabolical possession. A more modern example is afforded by the custom of cock fighting, which formed a general amusement in England and Scotland up to the nineteenth century. On Shrove Tuesday boys were allowed to bring their favorite cocks to the village school, where the bout was to be "pulled off" before the master as umpire.² Those who felt that the practice needed any defence, found it in the idea that the race of cocks was to suffer this annual barbarity by way of punishment for the crime of St. Peter, though, it must be added, few had any such scruples.

WALTER WOODBURN HYDE.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

¹ p. 177.

² Roberts, *Social History of the People of the Southern Counties of England* (1856), p. 421; Rogers, *Social Life in Scotland* (1884-86), II, 340.

IV.—GREEK INSCRIPTIONS IN THE ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM.¹

I. Part of a marble stele, the purpose of which is obscure. From Egypt, exact provenience unknown. Width 0.324 m.; height 0.179...0.223 m.; thickness 0.05 m. The stone has been deliberately cut from the original stele so as to form a rectangle suitable for use in a structure of masonry. This rectangle is now divided into two almost equal fragments by a perpendicular fracture. The lower edge shows a number of deep incisions made by a chisel. Both side edges are intact. One face is entirely covered with an elegantly cut inscription of nine lines, each of which consists of the name of a Greek together with his nationality. Letters shallowly incised, 0.037 m. in height, of the best Ptolemaic period. The ends of the strokes in the majority of the letters are slightly clubbed.

ΕΠΙΜΑΧΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ
ΤΑΥΡΩΝ ΑΚΑΡΝΑΝ
ΛΥΞΩΝ ΡΟΔΙΟΣ
ΚΛΕΙΤΟΜΑΧΟΣ ΡΟΔΙΟΣ
ΑΓΙΑΣ ΡΟΔΙΟΣ
ΦΙΛΩΝΙΧΟΣ ΒΟΞΠΟΡΙΤΗΣ
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΡΟΔΙΟΣ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΜΥΤΙΛΗΝΑΙΟΣ
ΜΟ[λ]ΠΑΓΩ[ρ]ΑΞ Β[οσπ]ΟΡΙΤΗΣ

'Επίμαχος Ἀθηναῖος, | Ταύρων Ἀκαρνάν, | Λύσων Ῥόδιος, | Κλειτόμαχος Ῥόδιος, | Ἄγιας Ῥόδιος, | Φιλώνιχος Βοσπορίτης, | Διονυσόδωρος Ῥόδιος, | Ἀπολλώνιος Μυτιληναῖος, | Μο[λ]παγώ[ρ]αξ Β[οσπ]ορίτης.

Not one of these nine names is recorded elsewhere in Egypt linked with any ethnic qualification whatsoever, and only 'Επίμα-

¹Mr. C. T. Currelly, the Director, has generously given me access to these inscriptions.

χος, *Δύσων*, *'Απολλώνιος* and *Διονυσόδωρος* are noted in the Ptolemaic period. These four names, we infer, belonged, in these specific instances, to men who were Egyptian citizens by birth or by naturalization or who through length of residence were considered as good as naturalized. These we can therefore neglect as a group in this investigation. Of the entire list only *'Απολλώνιος* and *Διονυσόδωρος* are at all common. It is obvious, then, that our efforts to identify these men must be limited almost entirely to a study of already known personages outside of Egypt bearing the same names, claiming the same nationalities, and belonging to the same general period. But in order to know the period we must first of all determine the date of this inscription as closely as the evidence will permit.

In this task epigraphy is, unhappily, our sole support. The fact that certain strokes, as we have already observed, are slightly clubbed at the ends is strong testimony that the inscription is not pre-Ptolemaic. CIG, III, 4702 is an inscription (now at the bottom of the sea, unfortunately) of Egyptian origin which contains a list of Greek names and nationalities very similar to those in our inscription. Its editor, following the report of Minutoli, the discoverer of the stone, states that the letters are of the best period (presumably Attic, in this case). For this reason alone he is inclined to believe that the men named in the inscription were soldiers serving under Chabrias, the Athenian, in his Egyptian expedition of c. 360 B. C. As the discoverer's description contains no hint that the letters manifest any tendency toward the clubbing of strokes we conclude that our inscription is of more recent date. Owing to the loss of the presumably older stone this conclusion must remain unverified.

Let us now consult the epigraphical evidence of definitely dated texts. In the Sitzb. d. K. Pr. Akad. d. Wissensch. zu Berlin, 1902, p. 1093, No. 2, Wilamowitz discusses an inscription in the museum at Alexandria which on indisputable grounds he dates in the period 276-270, i. e., early in the reign of Philadelphus. A photograph of a squeeze of this published by Wilhelm (Beitr. z. gr. Inschriftenkunde, p. 324, fig. 89) shows precisely the same type of letters as those in the Toronto inscription. On the basis of similar epigraphical

resemblance Wilamowitz (*op. cit.*, p. 1096) locates a Rhodian inscription in approximately the same period (cf. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Hermes*, XXXVIII, p. 320). The reality of this resemblance we can confirm by means of a photographic reproduction (Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, p. 323, fig. 88). From plates appended to Breccia's catalogue (*Cat. gén. des ant. ég. du Mus. d'Alexandrie, Iscr. gr. e lat.*) we know that certain inscriptions (Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 292) dating between 304 and 246 exhibit almost the same epigraphical characteristics as those we are endeavoring to date. Of similar import is an inscription of the year 238 published in Milne's catalogue (*Cat. gén. des ant. ég. du Mus. du Caire, Gr. and Lat. Inscr.*, 22186; for facsimile see Miller, *Jour. des Sav.*, 1883, pp. 214 ff.). The transcriptions in capitals of Nos. 9270 and 9284 (both dating 270-246) of this same work are of little service to us. Of all the inscriptions here noted those originating prior to 270 resemble our inscription epigraphically more than those of a later date. To this may be added the general observation that a large majority of the inscriptions listed by Breccia (*op. cit.*) which contain the names and ethnika of Greeks belong to the third century. If, then, we have not been deceived in the resemblances just pointed out, we cannot but conclude that our inscription was made in the third century B. C., and probably in the first decades of that century, or even in the closing years of the fourth.¹

The possible objection that this period is too early for Greek mercenaries to appear in Egypt may be answered by an appeal to certain documents. By Herodotus (II, 152-154; Breasted, *A Hist. of Eg.*, p. 569) we are told of the engagement of Carians and Ionians in the service of Psammetichus. Four papyri from Elephantine (Rubensohn, *Aeg. Urk. aus d. K. Mus. in Berlin, Elephantine-Pap.*, i-iv), ranging in date from 311 to 283, register the names and ethnika of a number of Greek soldiers. Further, there is the possibility that CIG, III, 4702, already mentioned, has to do not with a band of men in the service of Athens, but with Greek mercenaries in the service of Egypt. Rubensohn (*op. cit.*, p. 19) notes the sig-

¹ For the establishment of the approximate date of other Egyptian inscriptions about contemporary with ours see Jouguet, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, XXI (1897), pp. 191-193.

nificant fact that the papyri in question, although originating in Egypt and at a relatively late date, are in language and composition Greek documents untouched by Egyptian influence. The conservative impulse that operated in this case may have operated also in the so-called Chabrias inscription, accounting for the old style of lettering and the old manner of stone-cutting.

In the course of the year 305-4 we find a certain Epimachus Atheniensis employed with Demetrius Poliorcetes as chief architect and engineer of the siege-works of Rhodes (*Vitr.*, X, 16, 9; Niese, *Gesch. d. gr. Staaten*, I, p. 327, n. 2). Of this man's career after the siege nothing is known. Let us suppose, for the purpose of argument, that he and the Epimachus of our inscription are one and the same man. In order to secure a rational explanation of the sudden appearance of Epimachus, the engineer, in Egypt, we have only to assume that he, like hosts of other Greeks at that time, was attached to Demetrius by the temporary bond of a business contract rather than by the more enduring bond of loyalty. The long siege of Rhodes ended, he was at liberty to enter into a new contract and serve under the banner of another. Rhodes and Demetrius were now at peace (Niese, *op. cit.*, p. 332; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. des Lagides*, I, p. 78; Diod., XX, 99). At the same time the island enjoyed such intimate relations with the first Ptolemy that she was in a position to act as mediator in bringing about a tacit understanding between Ptolemy and Demetrius. Under such conditions as these it would be very easy for Epimachus to be released by the latter so as to join the former's staff of engineers occupied with the construction of numerous temples and other public works in Egypt (Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, pp. 103 ff.).¹ The reduced following and resources of Demetrius and the notoriously well-filled treasury of the Egyptian king would afford a natural explanation for such a change of masters. But, on the other hand, granting that Epimachus made no new alliance for several years subsequent to the siege of Rhodes, the definite pact between Demetrius and Ptolemy during the period 296-4

¹ E. g., a certain Cleon, an architect, was chief commissioner of public works in the Fayûm (Mahaffy, *A Hist. of Eg. under the Ptol. Dyn.*, p. 91).

(Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit., p. 87; Plut., Demetr., 32) would supply a historical occasion for the architect to pass from the service of the one prince to that of the other without alienating the former. Inasmuch as the possible advent of Epimachus in Egypt on either of the occasions suggested would fall very close to or within the chronological limits to which epigraphical considerations lead us to confine our inscription, we believe it possible that he and our *'Επίμαχος Αθηναῖος* are identical.

Taύρων is a name previously recorded only in Arrian's *Anabasis* (V, 14, 2; 16, 3), and in the two passages where it appears refers to a toxarch of unknown nationality in the army of Alexander. This man played a prominent part in the battle between Alexander and Porus on the banks of the Hydaspes in 327. As Ptolemy was present in the army at that time (Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit., pp. 4-5), and as he treated of this battle in his *Memoirs* (Arrian, *Anab.*, V, 14, 5), he must have been personally acquainted with Tauron, who would, therefore, have more reason than the ordinary adventurer for enlisting in the service of Ptolemy when the latter ascended the throne of Egypt. If 367 be the date of the birth of Ptolemy (Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit., p. 3), he would be exactly forty during the year of the engagement with Porus. The probability is that Tauron, as an able-bodied soldier serving in so arduous a campaign, would be of about the same age. On the supposition, then, that he was thirty at that time, in the period 304-294, in which we would locate the removal of Epimachus to Egypt, he would be passing through the decade of life between fifty-three and sixty-three. This is rather too advanced an age, we must admit, for a man to enter into new and strange conditions of military service; but it is not necessary for us to assume that a man of Tauron's experience in organization need limit his activities to the affairs of war. The numerous undertakings of a purely peaceful character then being carried on in Egypt, undertakings requiring large bodies of thoroughly disciplined and organized laborers, would afford a very attractive and suitable occupation for a retired military officer of sixty.

Αύσων, the name of a Rhodian magistrate, is read on certain Rhodian coins of undetermined date (Mionnet, *Descr. des méd. ant.*, suppl., VI, 594). Once only does the name appear

in Egyptian documents of the Ptolemaic era, and that in military accounts of the years 251-249 (Flinders Petrie Pap., 109, a, iv, 1). There we read *Δημοκλῆς Λύσωνος*. The date of this papyrus restricts us to the conclusion that *Δημοκλῆς* was granted his homestead on the occasion of the first settlement of cleruchs in the military colony of the Fayûm. This took place shortly after the first Syrian war which closed in 274 or 271 (cf. Meyer, *Heerwesen d. Ptolemäer*, p. 32; Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit., pp. 175 ff.) ; that is, in 274-3 or 271-0. The second settlement did not occur till 244 (or shortly after), the date of the close of the third Syrian war. Seeing that cleruchs were not necessarily worn-out veterans at the time of their retirement to the land, but were in many cases men still in the prime of life (see Meyer, op. cit., pp. 27-28), it is possible to imagine that Democles might have been as young as thirty-five or forty when awarded his *κλῆρος*. Even if we allow a latitude of a few years in either direction, Lyson his father would be a contemporary, and perhaps a coeval, of Epimachus and Tauron, according to our previous calculations. Owing to our ignorance of the nativity of Lyson our efforts towards identification can proceed no farther.

IG, XII, 1, 155, gives us the text inscribed on a monument erected in honor of a certain *Διονυσόδωρος* called 'Αλεξανδρεύς. As this cannot possibly date earlier than the close of the third century, and is with greater assurance of certainty assigned to the second, this *Διονυσόδωρος* cannot be the man of that name mentioned in our inscription.

In concluding this part of the discussion we can state that all the available evidence is insufficient to establish beyond doubt the identity of any of the personages considered. But certain striking coincidences emerge from the midst of the uncertainty. The epigraphical characteristics of the inscription coincide with a period in the lives of Epimachus and Tauron, when they might naturally have been associated with Ptolemy Soter. The fact that this Tauron is the only one of the name hitherto attested is significant. Similarly significant is it that the only Lyson known to us in Egypt in Ptolemaic times must have been about contemporary with the Lyson of the Toronto inscription. It is hard to banish the suggestion that these coincidences are not accidental.

The ethnic *Βοσπορίτης* refers here to the Cimmerian and not to the Thracian Bosphorus, in spite of its reference to the latter district in a fragment of Sophocles (Nauck, *Trag. Gr. Frag.*, No. 462). The name *Βόσπορος* was applied by extension both to the city of Panticapaeum, situated on the straits, and to the federation of Greek cities within the Bosporite kingdom (Strabo, XI, 495; Pliny, *H. N.*, IV, 24; Anon., *Periplus Ponti*, p. 7; Steph. *Byz.*, s. *Βόσπορος*; Latyschev, *Inscr. ant. orae sept. Ponti Eux.*, I, *passim*; IV, 418; cf. ib. 419; Collitz, *Gr. Dialekt-Inschr.*, III, 2, p. 662, 5557, n.). *Βοσπορίτης* is therefore a synonym of *Παντικαπαῖτης* (cf. Latyschev, *op. cit.*, II, 4; 358) or of *Παντικαπαιεύς* (Strabo, II, p. 74). In the field of epigraphy this form (also as *Βοσπορείτης*) is attested only twice, and that in inscriptions (IG, II, 3, 2849, 2852) which can be only indefinitely located in the period 403–31 B. C. It is also cited by Stephanus of Byzantium (*s. v.*) along with *Βοσποριανός*, *Βοσπορηνός*, *Βοσπόρος* and *Βοσπορικός*. The forms most frequently found in the inscriptions are *Βοσποραός* and *Βοσπορεαός* (Latyschev, *op. cit.*, I, 115–17; IG, II, 3, 2850–51; III, 2, 2397–98; XII, 1, 11). Strabo often refers to the Cimmerian Bosphorus, designating its citizens more commonly as *Βοσπορηνοί* or *Βοσποριανοί*, and only rarely as *Βοσπόροι*. Certainly the nature of the evidence does not permit one to say that one form (unless, perhaps, an exception be made of *Βοσπορεαός*) is more correct than another; *Βοσπορίτης*, however, seems to be the most literary.

Occurrences of the rare name *Μολπαγόρας* have been hitherto confined, with one exception, to Ionian sources—Miletus; its colony, Olbia; and Panticapaeum, the near neighbor of Olbia. The Molpagoras mentioned by Herodotus (V, 30) was a member of an aristocratic family of Miletus which perpetuated the ending *-αγόρας* in the names of its adherents (see Macan, *Herodotus*, ad loc.). It is probable that this name-ending possessed the same aristocratic significance in the colony. Of the two inscriptions containing the name published by Latyschev (*op. cit.*, II, 14=CIG, II, 2105; IV, 36) the first is dated on epigraphical grounds at the end of the fourth century or at the beginning of the third; it therefore corresponds closely to the period of the inscription which we are now editing. The second belongs to the fourth century

and may possibly point to the man named in the first. If this man (or, it may be, these men) is not actually identical with Μολπαγόρας Βοσπορίτης of the Toronto inscription, it is more than probable, owing to the exclusive proprietorship exercised by this well-known Milesian family in regard to the name-ending *-αγόρας*, that he was closely related to him by blood.

The name Φιλώνιχος is not previously known in the Cimmerian Bosporus.

The purpose of this interesting inscription can be only conjectured. We are doubtless safe in saying that it was votive in its character and was erected in honor either of the reigning Ptolemy (Soter or Philadelphus) or of some god (cf. CIG, III, 4702). If it antedates the establishment of the military colony in the Fayûm (274-3 or 271-0), as the strange association of Tauron, Epimachus and Lyson leads one to think, the names are those of soldiers or engineers in active service in the royal army of Egypt or in the great works of peace instituted by the first two Lagidae. If, on the contrary, it postdates this settlement, then the names are those of soldiers retired to the *ἐπίτραγμα*, or reserves, and settled on homesteads in the Arsinoët Nome, or Fayûm. If the first alternative is true, the inscription may have originated outside of the Fayûm; but if the second is true, the inscription comes from within the Fayûm.

W. SHERWOOD FOX.

WESTERN UNIVERSITY, LONDON, CANADA.

(*To be continued*)

V.—PETRARCH AND THE WINE OF MEROE.

Outside of the pages of Petrarch, Meroe, a hundred miles or so north of Khartum, has not been renowned for its vineyards. Petrarch, however, praises the wine of this region, directly or by implication, four times, in three of the instances naming it with Falernian.

In the *Africa* (6.848–853), referring to the Genoese Riviera di Levante, and its steep vineyards, he praises the wine of Monterosso and Corniglia as superior to either Falernian or the wine of Meroe¹:

Parte alia sinuosa patent convexa Siestri;
Hinc solis vineta oculo lustrata benigno,
Et Baccho dilecta nimis, Montemque Rubentem,
Et juga prospectant Cornelia palmitate
Inlita mellifluo, quibus haud collesque Falernos
Laudatamque licet Meroen cessisse pudebit.

Afterward, in his *Itinerarium Syriacum*, he refers to this passage, and, expressing his surprise that the ancient poets had not praised this shore for its fertility in wine and oil, perhaps because it had not yet been ascertained and made public, he continues:

Hinc est, ut, quum claris saepe carminibus Meroen Falernumque concelebrent, terrasque alias, hanc cunctis hac laude praestantem omnes
ignotam praeterierant [-int], etc.

In Eclogue 12, he couples the wines of Vesuvius with those of Falernus, the Cinque Terre of the Genoese coast, and Meroe:

Quid palmitibus seu dempta Phalernis
Seu Ligurum decerpta jugis ardentia vina,
Quaeque ferax gemino transmisit colle Vesevus
Dolia praecipi rapidum spumantia musto,
Quaeque dedit Meroe soli subjecta propinquo.

Elsewhere, in a passage of the *Africa* describing a feast given by Syphax—probably at Cirta, the modern Constantine—to

¹Cf. my monograph, *The Last Months of Chaucer's Earliest Patron* (*Trans. Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences* 21.69).

Laelius, the emissary of Scipio, Petrarch mentions only Meroe, no doubt because it, too, belonged to the Dark Continent (3. 368–373) :

Non una dapes, non pocula simplex
Cura fuit variare viris: pars aurea gestant
Vasa manu, pars cristallo splendentia puro;
Ast alii effossos gemma crateres in ampla
Implebant spumante mero, quod miserat olim
Ipsa parens Meroe Phoebo succensa propinquo.

These allusions have puzzled the commentators. Domenico Rossetti, in a note on the eclogue (*Poemata Minora* 1. 299), would prefer to read ‘Mare(i)a’, assuming that the reference is to the Mareotic wine mentioned by Horace (O. 1. 37. 14) and Virgil (G. 2. 81); and this view is adopted by Corradini (Padova a Francesco Petrarca, p. 451), in his comment on Africa 6. 853. The hypothesis seems somewhat forced, however, and I believe it would be better to retain ‘Meroe’, and to assume that Petrarch in every case had in mind Lucan 10. 160–163:

Gemmaeque¹ capaces
Excepere merum, sed non Mareotidos uvae,
Nobile sed paucis senium² cui contulit annis
Indomitum³ Meroe cogens spumare⁴ Falernum.

Riley, the Bohn translator, explains: ‘The Falernian wine, produced on the Massic hills of Italy, was naturally harsh, and was not considered fit for drinking unless it was ten years old; from the present passage it seems to have been thought to be improved by being sent to Meroe, near the borders of Aethiopia, in order to be mellowed by the heat, probably in much the same way that, at the present day, Madeira wine is sent for a voyage to the East or West Indies’.

Petrarch appears to have misunderstood Lucan, and to have thought of Meroe as an independent source of wine. That he had Lucan in mind is also suggested by the lay of the minstrel, following the description of Syphax’s banquet (Africa 3. 382–

¹ See Encyc. Brit., 11th ed., II. 567; Furtwängler, Die Antiken Gemmen 3. 155–6; Pauly-Wissowa 7. 1091–2.

² Ripeness, maturity (Haskins).

³ Difficult to mellow (Haskins).

⁴ To ferment, and so to ripen (Haskins); cf. Virgil, G. 2. 6.

451), as in Lucan the discourse of Achoreus (10. 194-331) follows the description of Cleopatra's feast.¹ That Petrarch was familiar with Lucan is abundantly shown by Nolhac (*Pétrarque et l'Humanisme*, 2d ed., Index), though he is unwilling to admit (1. 195) that there is any imitation of him in the *Africa*.

ALBERT S. COOK.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

¹Körting (*Petrarca's Leben und Werke*, p. 661) thinks rather of the song of Iopas in Virgil, Aen. 1. 742-6.

VI.—ARYAN *pitar-* AND DRAVIDIAN **pitar-*.

The Dravidian languages of southern India have forms of the word 'name' representing an early stem **pitar-*: Kanara *hesaru*, Tamil *pejar* and *pēr*, Telugu *pēru*, Tulu *pudar*. We may assume the development **pitar-> *picar-> *pecar-* in Kanara, Tamil and Telugu. The sound *i* palatalized the following *t*; changes of this kind are common in modern Tamil.¹ Afterward *i* became *e* by the action of vowel-harmony or partial assimilation to the next vowel. Likewise spoken Tamil sometimes has *e* for literary *i* before *a*: examples given by Vinson, in his *Manuel de la langue tamoule*, are *ele<ilai* (leaf), *nelā<nilā* (moon), *velukku<vilakku* (lamp). Kanara *hesaru* has normal *h*, as in *hō-* (go) = Tamil *pō-*, Telugu *pō-*, Tulu *pō-*; and *s* for *c* as in *sā-* (die) corresponding to Tamil and Telugu stems which may be transliterated *cā-* (now pronounced with *ç* or *cç* in Tamil and with *ts* in Telugu). In Kanara, medial *ç<cç<c* was an earlier development than the voicing of occlusives between vowels; elsewhere the voicing of *c* was generally earlier than the change of *c* to a fricative. A few words have the sound *ç (<c)* as a variant of *j (<ξ<c)* in Tamil: Vinson mentions *içai = ijai* (agree), *muçal = mujal* (hare), *paiçal = paikal = paidal* (boy). Such variations must have originated in different dialects, like our *vixen* beside *fox* and Spanish *alto<altum* beside *soto<saltum*. The *u* of Tulu *pudar* has parallels in *bōdu* = Tamil *vēñđum* (is needed), *buđu* = Tamil *vidu* (leave), *būr-* = Tamil *vīr-* (fall). Similar developments are found in spoken Tamil, according to Vinson: *potti<petti* (box), *pulle<pillai* (child), *udu<vidu* (leave).

The northern Dravidian languages lack literature, aside from recent works composed mainly by Europeans. Brâhui

¹ Pope, *Tamil Handbook*, § 123 (Oxford, 1911). I use *j* with its Dutch value, for a sound like our *y* in *you*; *ç* = German *ch* in *echt*; *c* = Bohemian *t'*, Hungarian *ty*; *ξ* = Bohemian *d'*, Hungarian *gy*; *x* = German *ch* in *acht*.

is carefully analyzed in Bray's Grammar (Calcutta, 1909). Short grammars and texts of the other northern languages, Gôndi, Kui, Kurukh and Malto, are given in the Linguistic Survey of India, vol. 4 (Calcutta, 1906). These languages have taken many common words from their Aryan neighbors. Thus Aryan numerals are used above 3 in Brâhui, above 7 in Gôndi and Kui, above 4 in Kurukh, above 2 in Malto. Aryan 'name' has also been freely borrowed: the Linguistic Survey records Gôndi *nāv* (p. 510) beside native *pidir* (p. 558), Kurukh *nāme* (p. 679), Malto *nami-* (p. 680). If we suppose that Dravidian **pitar-* was borrowed from Aryan, the meaning could have developed as follows: father > father's name > family-name > person's name. Tamil *pejar* means 'person' as well as 'name'. Brâhui regularly distinguishes the interrogative pronouns *dēr* (who) and *ant* (what), but there is a remarkable use of *dēr* that would be easier to understand if the word for 'name' formerly meant 'father'. From Bray's Grammar (§ 135) we learn that *dēr*, "though properly confined to persons", is also used in such phrases as *nā pin dēr e?* (what is your name?), *xōm-ta dēr e?* (what is his tribe?).

EDWIN H. TUTTLE.

NORTH HAVEN, CONN.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Romanzo e realtà nella vita e nell' attività letteraria di Lucio Apuleio. ENRICO COCCHIA. Catania, F. Battiato, 1915. Pp. XV + 396.

One's first impression upon reading this book is that it was derived too directly from an extensive course of university lectures upon the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius. There is the same leisurely way of dealing with the various questions involved; the same presentation of the substance of the narrative; the same relentless citation and discussion of all the authorities, important and unimportant, wise and foolish; the same disinclination on the part of the writer to betray the fact that he has formed any opinion of his own. But the impression is dispelled as we approach the conclusion of the matter. When we reach the last two chapters, we have abundant evidence that Professor Cocchia not only does have opinions of his own, but that they are clearly expressed and worthy of the most careful consideration. The great romance of Apuleius is far from being simply Lucius of Patras in a Latin costume with additional trimmings suitable to his first appearance in Roman society. The point is well made and even though I am not deeply impressed by some, at least, of the proofs which Cocchia adduces in support of his thesis, I am, nevertheless, quite ready to agree that as a critic and investigator of this wonderful book, he has taken a long step in the right direction. He believes with certain of the elder scholars that the book of Apuleius though founded, of course, upon the romance of Lucius is essentially different in one important particular. It is indeed a novel of adventure and may always be read and enjoyed as such. But it was not written primarily with that end in view. Cocchia's theory is derived from the relations existing, or supposed to exist, between the *Metamorphoses* and the *Apologia*, the most personal document which we have with regard to the life and character of the writer; indeed, apart from private letters, the *Apologia* is perhaps the most personal document which has come down to us from the literature of all antiquity. Having proved to his satisfaction that the *Metamorphoses* is a work of the author's maturity, but more especially that the date of it is subsequent to that of the *Apologia*, Cocchia develops at length the theory that the later work, though in appearance a mere novel of adventure, is in reality

an allegory of the author's own life, and of his mental and moral development as already depicted in the *Apologia*.

Personally I must confess that allegory, at all events allegory as extensive as we find it, for instance, in Spenser's *Faerie Queen* and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, not to mention the *Metamorphoses* as interpreted by Cocchia, does not appeal to me at all. To be frank I am distinctly bored by it. Allegory is a dangerous spirit to summon from the depths, and many a magician in the world of scholarship as well as in the world of literary art has received his mortal hurt thereby. Nor is the author the only one who is in danger. The weird and utterly impossible biographical tradition of Vergil which the old scholars derived from his *Eclogues* bears evidence to the fact that the pursuit of allegorical references in another man's work is a futile, not to say a dangerous, pastime. But allegory is largely a matter of period and in those strange days of the later Empire we may well suspect merely on general principles that Apuleius, just as Cocchia believes, was at one and the same time an allegorist and a novelist.

Here, however, I shall not pause to enumerate and discuss the arguments which Cocchia brings forward in support of his theory. I shall content myself merely with a hearty recommendation of the book to all who are interested in the great, the unique, literary masterpiece with which it is concerned.

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

Vespucci Reprints, Texts and Studies. The Cyrus H. McCormick Publication Fund of the Princeton University Library. Princeton: Princeton University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, 1916. No. 2. The Soderini letter, 1504; facsimile. \$75. No. 4. The Soderini letter, Critical translation with introduction by Professor G. T. Northup of Toronto University. \$1.25. No. 5. The *Mundus Novus* or Medici letter translated by Professor G. T. Northup. \$75. No. 6. The *Paesi novamente retrovati* 1598; facsimile. \$2.00. No. 7. The *Sensuyl le nouveau monde*, 1515; facsimile. \$2.00.

We all owe a debt of gratitude to the generosity of Mr. McCormick in purchasing these excessively rare documents and to the authorities of Princeton University for making them available to the world at large. The problem of Amerigo

Vespucci seems to be one of the most difficult in history. And surely we can never hope to solve such a problem until the documents with which it is associated are made available to as many intelligent investigators as possible.

The most important and the most interesting of the series, at least to the lay reader, is the Soderini letter. Professor Northup is to be congratulated for his excellent work upon this mysterious document. Strange to say he seems to be the only one so far to realize fully that the first and most important problem to be solved is purely philological. It is not until we understand the weird dialect of this letter and the reasons for its existence that we can come to any sane or certain conclusion regarding the much disputed matter of text.

From the nature of the case it is impossible to restore the actual words of the text. But the editor believes that at least the statements of the original letter may be restored, and this is what he has attempted to do in his translation. 'It takes into account', as he says, 'all three versions and is based upon them all, rather than on any one of them'.

In his notes, the translator confines himself rigidly to matters of text. I could wish that he had been less rigidly exclusive of other matters. There are a number of statements in the letter which he of all men is best fitted to illustrate. For instance, on p. 14 Vespucci says, 'There we perceived that they were roasting a certain beast which resembled a serpent except that it had no wings', etc. 'Un serpente, salvo che non teneva alia'. It seems to me that *serpente* here needs to be explained by something beside the literal translation of 'serpent'. Apparently Vespucci was thinking of the armadillo, a beast for which in his experience there was no parallel except the dragon, that fabulous creature which long before the Medea of Euripides was as a matter of course furnished with wings.

Vespucci makes a curious impression on the reader, at all events on this reader; he suggests a man who has seen so much and has had so many new impressions that he is quite unable to give anything like an adequate account of them. No doubt part of it is due to his own inability to express himself clearly and picturesquely. He was a man of action, not a man of words. He must have been a good navigator but his knowledge of the Classics was to say the least extremely vague, otherwise he never would have referred to Catullus' famous dedication of his poems to Cornelius Nepos as, "I will say to you as Pliny said to Maecenas: 'Once upon a time you were wont to take pleasure in my prattlings'."

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH.

Prolegomena to an edition of the works of Decimus Magnus Ausonius, by Sister MARIE JOSÉ BYRNE. New York: Columbia University Press, 1916. Pp. vii + 101. \$1.25.

It would be easy to criticize this monograph, and the criticism would be entirely favorable, if the work had been called by any other name than *Prolegomena*. The real difficulty with the title of *Prolegomena*, especially at this stage of the author's studies, is illustrated and exemplified by my first attempt some years ago to use a certain academic library in a far country. I found that the shelf devoted to Dante contained only one book. That was a large and sumptuous Concordance to his complete works. During the next few days I had occasion several times to be impressed with the fact that, on the whole, Dante did not need the Concordance so much as the Concordance needed Dante. A somewhat similar relation exists between *Prolegomena* and the author with whom they are concerned.

The relation is such that in the present instance, for example, definite criticism is impossible unless we had the proposed edition before us. Let us hope that the editor intends to furnish that edition with a commentary. The work she has already done indicates that she would furnish a good one. And speaking in general there is nothing which a large share of the Greek and Latin classics need so much as a thorough and complete modern commentary. To my thinking it is just this kind of work which will do more than anything else to rouse a really living and profitable interest in those authors.

The most satisfactory and interesting portion of this article is that which is concerned with the poet's life, his friends, and his works. Professor Byrne has given a remarkably clear and vivid picture of Ausonius and of the times in which he lived. A strange age, the fourth century. The old was still surviving, though perhaps more in appearance than in reality. On the other hand, the new was still not altogether sure of itself, not altogether acceptable to every class in life.

Ausonius belonged intellectually and temperamentally to the old régime. It was a régime which had long since ceased to lead an active life in anything but phrases. But Ausonius was a man of phrases. He lived, moved and had his being in phrases. Happy for him that he lived in an age when there were at least a few men left who knew a good phrase when they heard it. Happy for him, too, that he died before the campaign of frightfulness under Alaric and the Teutons roused 'modern civilization', as no doubt it called itself, to the fact that it is neither so safe nor so powerful and persuasive as it fancies itself to be. The year 410 was not a good year for phrases. Still, after he

had recovered from the shock of it, Ausonius would no doubt have gone back to his phrases again and been quite as happy as before, so long as he remained unmolested. Few men have been so fortunate. He had a long and pleasant life, he was famous in his own time, he was famous for a long time afterwards, indeed, it is scarcely a century since he ceased to be generally read. He was one of those poets, who though certainly second rate possessed the rare gift of inspiring greater minds than his own. We cannot afford to ignore the man who suggested Herrick's 'Gather ye rose buds while ye may' and many another charming bit of verse by which the first three centuries of modern literature are remembered.

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

Syria as a Roman Province. By E. S. BOUCHIER. Pp. I-XI, 1-304. Plate of Coins. Map. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1916.

The reviser of Arnold's "Roman System of Provincial Administration" has again laid scholars under obligation by a specialized study of a Roman province. "Syria as a Roman Province" has the same general characteristics as the preceding volumes, "Life and Letters in Roman Africa" and "Spain under the Roman Empire". All three are informing, learned, and unassuming. We are fortunate to have them so well done in English.

The first chapter on the peoples and national characteristics of Syria and the second on the history and constitution of the province to the Antonine age, pass the subject in rapid review. The more detailed treatment of the succeeding chapters affords a better illustration of Mr. Bouchier's special fitness for this work, which has grown out of his apprenticeship on Arnold's book. The chapters on Antioch and Palmyra will interest the general reader. The Syrian dynasties at Rome (Chapter IV) find their proper setting in this volume, and Elagabalus appears here less a monster of iniquity than his biographers are accustomed to make him. Berytus, Damascus, Apamea, and other chief cities of Syria take on new interest and fall more into the scheme of things in the hands of Mr. Bouchier. The economic side is not neglected, but the chapters on the culture of the province, its literature, religion, architecture and the arts, occupying the last hundred pages of the book, are, perhaps

the most valuable part. Literature flourished from the Seleucid age to Procopius, a period of eight hundred years. Many names familiar in the history of Greek as well as Latin literature are met: Cicero's friend, the poet Archias, was born at Antioch; the historian Posidonius, a name to conjure with in Roman historiography, comes from Apamea; Nicolaus of Damascus is valuable to students interested in Julius and Augustus Caesar; the Jewish historian Josephus, born at Jerusalem, is the "principal authority for Syrian history under the early empire"; Lucian was a Syrian, as he proudly maintains, protesting almost too much; Ammianus Marcellinus was a native of Antioch. There is a Syrian influence in Latin literature, but this is not so important as the African or Spanish element, for not Latin but Greek was the language of literary men in the province of Syria. The religion of Syria, which is treated in chapter XI, was not always free from debauchery; even after the adoption of Christianity, it was superstitious and full of Oriental love of ritual and magic. The chapter on architecture and the arts could hardly have been written without the report of the Princeton expedition (1904). Greek influence is stronger than Roman in the arts, as in language and literature, but Syrian architects prefer Oriental ornamentation and in the "Arab parts of Syria Oriental features are more pronounced". Elaborate figures of birds and animals and favorite plants are frequent. "At Shakka is a rare example of the grotesque in Syrian sculpture, fat human figures and birds with abnormally long legs."

Septimus for Septimius is found on p. 108 l. 10. An occasional uncomfortable sentence, e. g. p. 265, last sentence in second paragraph, and p. 273, bottom, calls for revision, but to carp at such details is very ungrateful.

M. S. SLAUGHTER.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.

Lucrèce, De la Nature, livre quatrième, par ALFRED ERNOUT.
Paris, Klincksieck, 1916.

This edition of Book IV of the *De Rerum Natura*, with French version, introduction, and linguistic and interpretative comment, offers much that will be found of value to students—whatever their native idiom—of a particularly difficult portion of Lucretius. M. Ernout has apparently sought to present to readers interested in matters literary and philosophical a compact and usable Fourth Book,—with success, at least so far as touches the translation. Whether his notes are not, for this purpose, overloaded with linguistics is perhaps debatable.

A sane and straightforward but rather uninspired introduction gives, with a statement of the place of Book IV in the entire

work, a detailed summary of its contents, a brief estimate of the literary worth of the poem, an exhaustive account of Lucretius' handling of the hexameter as illustrated by Book IV (pages 7-17), and in closing, a conspectus of the history of the text. Of these, the metrical matter has independent value and will need to be considered by investigators of Lucretius' verse technique.

The carefully printed Latin text is based on Bailey's, with conservative variants. The full critical notes are cumbered with much needless information about unimportant readings. In the version, clearness, simplicity, and directness, essential qualities in a rendering of Lucretius to which the French lends itself admirably, are characteristic throughout, and naturally attain to grace and rhythmical movement in the less technical passages. Marginal topics, conveniently adjusted to the text, give assistance especially welcome in this part of the work.

In his commentary, M. Ernout addresses himself, on the whole, decidedly to the scholar rather than to the general reader. There is much purely philological matter; the "parallel passage" at times becomes deadly; and one leaves the notes inclined to regret that the author had not spared us some of his morphological erudition and given instead,—what so few editions of Lucretius or of any other Latin writer do give,—larger measure of intelligent and incisive criticism, from a sympathetic, common-sense, modern point of view, of the subject-matter of the book. Perhaps this is asking something beyond the professed scope of the edition (cf. Introduction, p. 4); but then why interpolate a linguistic commentary with philosophical and scientific flotsam?

Carefully prepared indices of phrases discussed and passages cited from Lucretius make easy of access the information contained in the notes.

The proof-reading and typework in general are excellent throughout. A mistaken heading appears in the Introduction, p. 11: "c" should be uniform with "i" of p. 9?. Exceptional are slips like those on p. 18 (read "importants" and "Cyril").

H. W. LITCHFIELD.

AMHERST COLLEGE.

A Concordance to the Works of Horace, compiled and edited by
LANE COOPER, published by The Carnegie Institution of
Washington, Washington, 1916.

The compiler and editor of this concordance, Dr. LANE COOPER, Professor of the English Language and Literature in

Cornell University, needs no introduction to American classicists. On more than one occasion he has shown, by word and deed, that he is thoroughly imbued with a sense of the importance of the ancient classics, and, again, in the preface to this work, he states that one of his principal reasons for undertaking the labor was the "hope that a concordance of a Latin poet, emanating from a teacher of English, might tend to strengthen the bonds of sympathy between devotees of the ancient classics and students of modern literature; for", continues he, "unless such bonds are constantly renewed, the study of modern literature, at least, is prone to become one-sided or unduly sentimental, or to go entirely astray." The method employed in the compilation of this work was substantially the same as that which was followed in the preparation of the author's Concordance of Wordsworth. "It has been his desire", the author says, "to perfect and, as in the present case, to exemplify a method by which works of this description may be produced quickly and with a great saving of energy, through organization of effort, the collaboration of many hands, and the use of mechanical devices for the attainment of speed and accuracy in recording." The details of the method for Horace have been set forth in printed instructions, copies of which may be had from the editor at Ithaca, New York. The preparation of the original slips on which the present Concordance is based was intrusted to a corps of eighteen collaborators. The editing of these slips with a view to improving the context wherever necessary, and the production of the slips that contained the variant readings, was the work of Professor COOPER. A number of the eighteen collaborators, with other friends and students of the editor, gave aid in the first stages of the alphabetical ordering of slips, and Miss Mary A. Ewer directed special efforts to making the record exact and complete.

The Concordance to the Works of Horace is a work of considerable size. On 593 small-quarto pages, it contains, in addition to the catchwords in bold-faced type, about 45,000 references and nearly the same number of quotations. The methods employed in the production of the Concordance are so well calculated to eliminate error, the surface indications of excellence are so striking, and the statements of the author as to the efforts that were made to secure completeness and accuracy are so reassuring, that there was every temptation for the reviewer to limit himself to merely a perfunctory examination of the work. But considerations of justice to author, reader and publisher alike made it imperative to institute some sort of a serious test. The very best test of an index or of a concordance is the actual use of the work for the purposes for which it was intended. To approximate the conditions of such a test, the writer selected portions from various parts

of Horace's works, looked up each word in the Concordance, examined the illustrative quotations wherever given, and verified the references. The passages selected were Carm. 1. 11 (entire); 3. 3 (entire); Serm. 1. 9 (lines 1-15); 2. 1 (lines 1-15); Epist. 1. 1 (lines 1-15); and Epist. 2. 2 (lines 1-51). There are more than one thousand words in these selections, and incidentally scores of other citations and references were examined, so that the test involved more than one thousand consultations of the Concordance and covered more than one forty-fifth of the entire volume. The result of the test, it should be said at once, was a striking confirmation of the initial impressions as to the superior merits of the work. Before proceeding to speak of these merits at greater length, it seems best to comment on certain features of the work that one might wish to see modified in concordances that may in the future be patterned after this one.

In the first place, a plea may here be registered for a diminution in the list of words that are cited without context. Surely, if *tibi* and all the other forms of *tu* are cited with their full context, *tu*, which is not so frequent as *tibi*, deserves the same treatment; and, if all the other forms of *ille* are cited with context, *ille* itself should be so cited. For a similar reason, one should desire the context of *se*; of *haec*, *hic*, *hoc*, *hunc*; of *quae*, *quam*, *qui*, *quid*, *quis*, *quo*, *quod*. Why should *est* and *sunt* alone out of all the forms of the copula be represented only by references? And, if some of the prepositions are cited with their context, why not all of them? Even thus a large enough list would remain which many scholars would be glad to see abridged: *ac*, *an*, *at*, *atque*, *aut*, *cum*, *cur*, *dum*, *et*, *iam*, *nam*, *ne*, *-ne*, *nec*, *neque*, *nisi*, *non*, *o*, *-que*, *quo* (adv.), *quod* (conj.), *sed*, *seu*, *si*, *sic*, *sive*, *tam*, *tamen*, *ut*, *-ve*, *vel*.

There are in the text of Horace many passages which are enclosed in quotation marks. When, in the Concordance, only the beginning or the end of such passages is cited, one of the quotation marks is regularly omitted; e. g., 'nil opus est te / circumagi (Serm. 1. 9. 16); nil sine magno / vita labore dedit mortalibus' (Serm. 1. 9. 59). This phenomenon is at first a little disconcerting until, after repeated consultations, one discovers that the omission is probably designed and is due to the mechanical process employed in the compilation of the book. It would have been a gain, if, in the Preface, attention had been called to this peculiarity.

A difficult problem in the making of a concordance is that of determining the amount of the context to be cited. The usual tendency is toward insufficiency of context. Professor COOPER has, upon the whole, admirably resisted this tendency, and scholars are greatly indebted to him for the amplitude of his citations. A trifle more generosity, however, in examples

like the following, would have made the work more ideal. In *nonne*, *cupidinibus statuat natura modum quem* (under *quem*, Serm. 1. 2. 111), both *nomine* and *quem* are suspended in mid-air; *nonne* requires its complement *plus prodest*, and *quem* becomes more intelligible by the addition of *quaerere*. *mente quatit solida neque Auster* (under *mente*, Carm. 3. 3. 4) would have been improved by the presence of *non* as cited under *quatit*, and still more satisfactory would have been the citation given under *solida*: *non voltus instantis tyranni / mente quatit solida neque Auster*. *Auster* would have been illuminating at the head of *dux inquieti turbidus Hadriae* (under *dux*, Carm. 3. 3. 5). In *catulos ferae / celent inultaे* (under *catulos*, *ferae*, *celent* and *inultaе*, Carm. 3. 3. 41-42), one misses the *dum* to indicate the nature of the subjunctive. *quam cogere humanos in usus* (under *cogere*, *humanos* and *usus*, Carm. 3. 3. 51) would be much clearer if *spernere fortior* preceded. *tecum sic agat* (under *agat*, Epist. 2. 2. 3) is made ambiguous by the suppression of the word *siquis*. *castellum evertere praetor / nescio quod cupiens hortari coepit* (under *hortari* and *coepit*, Epist. 2. 2. 35) is incomplete without the word *eundem*, which is the object of *hortari* and follows *coepit* in the text of Horace.

A closely related but much easier problem is that of the maintenance of consistency with respect to the amount of a given context that is cited under the various words which compose that context. When once certain words have been chosen as constituting a suitable context, there is an obvious advantage in adhering strictly to this context. The editor seems not to have made this an inviolable rule. For example, under *hac*, Carm. 3. 3. 9, he has selected *hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules / enisus arces attigit igneas* as a satisfactory context and has adhered to this context under *arte*, *Pollux* and *attigit*; but, greatly to the detriment of the sense, he has eliminated the words *hac arte Pollux et* under *vagus*, *Hercules*, *enisus*, *arces* and *igneas*. Again, under *recumbens*, Carm. 3. 3. 11, the author has admitted *quos inter Augustus recumbens / purpureo bibet ore nectar*,—an eminently satisfactory context: but under *quos* and *Augustus* only *quos inter Augustus recumbens* is cited; under *purpureo*, *ore* and *nectar*, *purpureo bibet ore nectar* is given; and under *bibet*, the unsatisfactory *Augustus recumbens / purpureo bibet ore nectar* appears. Under *Priami*, Carm. 3. 3. 26, *nec Priami domus / periura pugnacis Achivos / Hectoreis opibus refringit* is chosen as the citation, and the same citation reappears under *domus*, *periura*, *Achivos* and *refringit*; but under *pugnacis* the *nec* is omitted, and under *Hectoreis* and *opibus* the passage is abridged to *pugnacis Achivos / Hectoreis opibus refringit*.

In the matter of variants, the editor's laudable desire has been to secure the utmost possible completeness, but it is hard

to see what good has been accomplished by the inclusion of variants that could not possibly have stood in the Horatian text. So under *nihil* one meets the following: "nil [?nihil] sine magno / vita labore [?labore vita] dedit mortalibus.' ? var. Serm. I. 9. 59". The same, with but a change in the numbering of the verse, recurs under *labore* and *vita*. But *nihil* and *labore vita* are both unmetrical. A more glaring example is found in connection with Epist. 2. 2. 18. In addition to the regular text, *prudens emisti vitiosum, dicta tibi est lex*, this same text with the unmetrical variants *dicta est tibi lex* and *dicta tibi lex est* respectively is twice cited under *dicta*, *tibi* and *lex* each, and six lines have thus been wasted.

"The separation of words spelled alike but of different meanings, and of the same grammatical forms with slightly different functions," is regarded by the author as a work of supererogation, though, as a matter of fact, he has for the most part endeavored to carry out such a separation. In the case of words like *ut*, *quid* and *quod*, of which only the references are given, the user of the book, in order to determine the method of classification, is compelled to look up a number of the references under each rubric. This may be a task of considerable magnitude, and in some instances one cannot be sure of the precise nature of the examples that are grouped under a particular rubric until one has examined all of the examples in their proper context. In the case of words that are cited with their context, the nature of the categories may, as a rule, readily be seen from the citations themselves. An occasional oversight in classification has been noted. To say nothing of *gratum* in *o diva, gratum quae regis Antium, Carm. I. 35. I.* which is plainly an adjective and describes Antium, but which seems to have gotten into the wrong company in the Concordance, *omne* in *quando et priores hinc Lamias ferunt / denominatos et nepotum / per memores genus omne fastos, Carm. 3. 17. 4.* is listed as a nominative, though the word *genus* of this passage is correctly classified as an accusative. *Super* in *quereris super hoc etiam, Epist. 2. 2. 24.* is placed under the ablative examples of *super*, whereas the *hoc* of this passage is placed under the accusatives. In *unde laboris / plus haurire mali est quam ex re decerpere fructus, Serm. I. 2. 78-79,* *plus* is the accusative and does not belong to a category different from the one that follows it in the Concordance.

It would be very unjust to the editor not to state that the infelicities that have been noted here and there in the Concordance vanish when viewed in their proper perspective, and it must be conceded that as to some, at least, of the suggestions that are contained in the preceding paragraphs, there may be a difference of opinion. In any case, the fact remains that the Concordance to the Works of Horace is a work of rare com-

pleteneess and accuracy. Of the more than thousand words that formed the basis of the present test, every one was found duly recorded. In the vastly more than thousand references that were verified, not an error was discovered. In the approximately one thousand illustrative quotations that were examined, there was noticed but a single misprint; the "r" of *iurgares* was omitted in the citation, under *te*, of Epist. 2. 2. 22, ne mea saevas / *iurgares* ad te quod epistula nulla rediret. To the amplitude of the individual quotations, witness has been borne above. The typography of the book is excellent, and the quality and the color of the paper leave nothing to be desired. In short, the editor, his assistants and the Carnegie Institution of Washington are to be congratulated on the success of their undertaking, and they may rest assured that by "the doing of this work" they have earned "the gratitude of scholars for generations to come."

C. W. E. MILLER.

Studies in the Diction of the Sermo Amatorius in Roman Comedy. By KEITH PRESTON. University of Chicago Dissertation, 1916. Pp. 67.

This is an interesting and well considered study of the vocabulary of Roman lovers as it appears in Plautus and Terence. Pichon had already done much for this subject in his well known *De Sermone Amatorio apud Latinos Elegiarum Scriptores*. Dr. Preston has gone further into the detailed discussion of usage and has rendered his work particularly valuable by full citation and analysis of the same sphere in Greek. I am inclined to think that he could have rendered his discussion still more valuable if he had given the same close attention also to the amatory vocabulary of the elegy. For instance, on p. 42, his discussion of *cadere* in the erotic sense, 'tumbling', as Ophelia says, should include the most striking example of its use in classical literature. This is found in Sulpicia's bitter gibe at her lover (*Tibullus IV, 10, 1*):

Gratum est, securus multum quod iam tibi de me
permittis, subito ne male inepta cadam.

I have discussed the use of the word here at considerable length in my own note on the passage (*Tibullus*, p. 513).

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH.

REPORTS.

REVUE DE PHILOLOGIE, Vol. XXXIX (1915).

Quelques remarques sur l'historicité de Tite-Live, XXI-XLV (5-23). E. Cavaignac takes exception to the slighting statements made by Kahrstedt and by Strehl and Soltau as to the use of sources by Livy and his accuracy. He cites a long list of events from XXI-XLV for which he postulates good and early sources.

Décrets de Nikopolis d'Épire (24-28). B. Haussoullier comments upon one of the five fragments of a Greek inscription published in 1913 by M. Alex. Philadelpheus in Fouilles de Nikopolis. The inscription is important as giving part of the first Nikopolis decree that has been found. It also gives the title of the only functionary thus far known there, a *γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς*.

Les communiqués de César (29-49). S. Reinach examines with keen insight the first book of the Commentaries, and concludes that Caesar did not write and publish the first book of the Commentaries after the war, but that he republished it then. Among many proofs adduced, the two strongest are, 1 the irreconcilable contradictions between Caesar's statements in I, 2 and I, 30, and that in I, 31 as to the reasons for the Helvetic migration, and 2 the complimentary terms (I, 52) used about P. Crassus, which, had that part of Book I been written in 51 b. c., three years after the death of Crassus and his father at Carrhae, would not have been then by any means employed.

Notes critiques aux chapitres de Pline relatifs à l'histoire de l'art (50-78). A. Reinach continues his discussion (Rev. de Phil. 1914, 245-254). In section III the chronology of the Theban school is taken up; in IV is a denial that there were two Nikiases or two Praxiteleses; in V, Aëtion and the painting of the marriage of Alexander and Roxane are discussed; in VI, the Paralos and Hammonias of Protogenes are explained; in VII, M. R. joins those critics who believe that Apelles painted two Aphrodites.

Bulletin bibliographique (79-80).

T. Lucreti Cari De rerum natura, Liber quartus (81-245). An edition of the fourth book of Lucretius by Alfred Ernout, with Introduction (81-99), Text and Translation on opposite pages (100-171) and Notes (172-245).

Bulletin bibliographique (246-247).

Euripide, Iphigénie à Aulis, v. 1179 (249-255). R. Cahen adds some justificatory comments on Dindorf's change of

1179 Τοιόνδε μισθὸν καταλιπὼν πρὸς τὸν δόμους.

1180 Ἐπεὶ βραχεῖας κτλ.

to

1179 Τοιόνδε μισθὸν καταλιπὼν πρὸς τὸν δόμους

1180 ἐπεὶ βραχεῖας κτλ.

Horace, Sat. I, 1, v. 61 (256-258). A. Cartault commends the change made by M. Paul Lejay in his edition of the Satires of *at* to *ut* in line 61, but thinks the sense demands a change from a period to a comma in the punctuation at the end of line 60.

Marciana silva (259-260). F. Cumont shows that the *Marcianae silvae* of Ammianus Marcellinus and the *silva Marciana* of the Tabula Peutingeriana are in Greek sources respectively, Ἐρκύνιοι δρυμοί and Ἐρκυνία ὑλη. He thinks that the strange word *Hercynia* might easily have been copied as *Marciana*, but that more probably this name, which was used by the Gauls in the 4th century for the Black Forest, was extended by popular etymology.

L'ère byzantine et Théophile d'Édesse (260-263). F. Cumont adds a few chronological details to the articles of Serruys in Rev. de Phil. XXXI, 151-189 and 251-264.

Bulletin bibliographique (264).

Revue des revues et publications d'Académies (publiés en 1914) relatives à l'antiquité classique (1-182).

Tables de la Revue des revues (183-196).

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

R. V. D. MAGOFFIN.

RIVISTA DI FILOLOGIA, XLIV (1916).

Fascicolo 3.

La tirannide degli Ortagoridi alla luce di un nuovo documento (369-378). Vincenzo Costanzi examines this question on the basis of Oxyrhynchus Papyri XI, n. 1365, which is the fragment of a work concerned with the dynasty of Sicyon. The author is not known and the information he gives does not appear to be of any great value.

Equos troianus sive de vetere Romanorum fabula ex Hellenisticis expressa (379-397). A. Rostagni thinks that scholars have erred in their belief that the two old favorites of the Roman Stage by this name were adapted from an original belonging to the great age of the Greek Drama. He

concludes rather that the original was an Alexandrian tragedy of the same name to which Dioscorides refers, A. P. V 138.

Questionelle probiane, II (398-405). M. L. de Gubernatis discusses the idiom, *in potestatem fuisse*.

Ad Eronda IV 75 (406-408). F. Nencini contributes a note on the meaning of *θεῶν φαύειν*.

La fine del regno di Seleuco Nicatore (409-423). G. Corradi concludes his discussion of this subject (cf. pag. 297).

Note al 'Culex' (424-427). Ettore de Marchi discusses Culex 243-247.

Lucretiana (428-444). U. Moricca discusses a number of passages of Lucretius.

Recensioni (445-460).

Note bibliografiche (460-466).

Rassegna di pubblicazioni periodiche (467-477).

Pubblicazioni ricevute dalla Direzione (478-480).

Fascicolo 4.

Notizie di papiri ercolanesi inediti (481-484). Domenico Bassi examines Papyrus 1636 and finds that it appears to be fragments of a treatise on rhetoric.

Gli scolii a Teocrito (485-511). Francesco Garin examines and discusses the Scholia on Theocritus as they appear in the various editions from Callierges to Wendel (1516-1914).

Italica (512). Edwin W. Fay adds a brief etymological note to his article in vol. xlivi, 614-617.

La natura dell'accento greco primitivo ed alcuni fenomeni fonetici e morfologici (513-541). Lorenzo Dalmasso investigates the genitive singular of the second declension in Latin and Greek.

L'iscrizione osca della ghianda litica di Altilia (Saepinum) (542-546). Francesco Ribezzo again takes up this much discussed inscription; see for instance Fay's article xlivi, 614-617.

Quibus temporibus fuerint A. Gellius et M. Valerius Probus disputatur (547-554). Benedetto Romano after reviewing the literature of the subject states his belief that the Probus whose scholars and friends were known personally to Gellius was the famous grammarian and critic M. Valerius Probus.

Emendamento a Pitica XI, 55 (555). Luigi Cerrato changes δ' θ' in Pythian XI. 55 to δν'.

Recensioni (556-574).

Note bibliografiche (575-578).

Rassegna di pubblicazioni periodiche (579-589).

Pubblicazioni ricevute dalla Direzione (590-592).

Vol. XLV (1917). Fascicolo I.

Questioni e postille intorno alla sintassi di concordanza in latino (1-15). A. Gandiglio discusses at length the law governing the agreement of the predicate in sentences in which the subject is of the type Corioli *vetus oppidum* and *vetus oppidum Corioli*. The author makes a convincing plea for his own views on this subject as opposed to those of Stegmann in the first volume of the second edition of Kühner's *Satzlehre*.

Per il testo di Pap. Giessen 40, col. I (*Constitutio Antonina de civitate peregrinis danda*) (16-23). A. Beltrami transcribes this text as it appears in pap. Giessen 40 and adds a commentary.

Note filologiche sul "Secretum" del Petrarca (24-37). R. Sabbadini thinks that Petrarch's Secretum is the most sincere of all his works. So far, however, as the text is concerned, it is largely a cento from Cicero's Tusculans. It was composed at Vaucluse in 1342-3 and revised at Milan in 1353 or later. Interesting is the list of classical authors cited in this work.

Il codice Bresciano di Tibullo (38-69). F. Calonghi examines this manuscript and finds it to be closely related to the Vossianus V. One may have been copied from the other, but Calonghi thinks it more likely that the similarity between them is due to a common archetype.

Anecdota Latina (70-98). Giovanni Pesenti takes up again the Codex Monacensis Lat. 807 (M), especially that portion which was written by Poliziano in 1491. This contains notes with regard to his journey, the various libraries which he visited, but above all extracts from a number of valuable manuscripts which since then have been lost. Pesenti devotes particular attention to a very valuable codex of the Grammatici Latini now no longer existing, which contained among other things the work of Papirinus.

Greco, Siriaco, Arabo e Filosofia greca (99-103). C. O. Zuretti has a brief article on Furlani's *Contributi alla storia della filosofia greca in Oriente*.

Senecana (104-107). Umberto Moricca emends certain passages in Seneca's prose works.

Recensioni (108-152).

Note bibliografiche (153-157).

Rassegna di pubblicazioni periodiche (158-172).

Pubblicazioni ricevute dalla Direzione (173-176).

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

BRIEF MENTION.

As I announced in the last number of the Journal, p. 222, the theme of my quarterly musings was to have been the various shifting and divergencies in the point of view that I had noticed in myself and others. But the necessity of cutting short the superfluities of *Brief Mention* left my preamble somewhat in the air, and the thread that ran through the illustrations of the theme could hardly have been discerned, except by those who are accustomed to follow Pindar in his circling weft. I began by telling what Odysseus and Penelope are to me, what they are to Mr. THOMSON, whose *Studies in the Odyssey* formed the subject of the next section; and that led up to the exposition of another diversity of view, which I proceed to redeem from the printer's galley in which it has been imprisoned all these months.

The next difference then as to the point of view between Mr. THOMSON and myself is a much smaller matter. In the course of his rambles through Greek territory, picking up the threads that have been detached from the divine vestments of Odysseus and Penelope, happily or unhappily woven into human habiliments, Mr. THOMSON gravely informs us (p. 38) in gazetteer style that Kalaureia is 'a little island in the Saronic Gulf not far from Methana'. To a Greek scholar who has ever read the life of Demosthenes, Kalaureia needs no gazetteer. It was in this island that the great orator foiled the Macedonian's assassin. It was to this little island, the modern Poros, that I surrendered an afternoon of my Sixty Days in Greece (*Atlantic Monthly*, Oct. 1897, p. 207) and several pages of the Journal (XXXIII 363-5), and the charm comes back with one chapter of Mrs. DRAGOUMIS's new book, *A Man of Athens* (Houghton Mifflin Co.) but only that one chapter. The Athens of to-day is not a pleasant object of contemplation, and although the scene is laid in the time of the Balkan War, when the pulse of all lovers of Greece beat high, the picture of Athenian society is too photographically, too graphophonically exact to awaken the longing Mrs. DRAGOUMIS's other book called forth. One resents the everyday chatter, the everyday figures, the crowded stage, the cosmopolitan culture, the afternoon teas, the criticism of bad French, the slur cast upon Lancashire English, the general up-to-dateness. Of course, there is an artistic design in all this. It is intended to bring out in bold relief the figure of the hero who

is not an Athenian, but a sturdy Poriate. Still I am not to be tempted, as I was before, to overstep the limits a philological journal ought to observe.

In the medley of books with which my cage is littered there is a volume bound in pigskin, that wonderful material which is proof against superheated houses and noxious gases,—M. A. Mureti *Orationes, Epistolae Hymnique Sacri, Lipsiae, Sump-tibus Viduae Gothofredi Grossii MDCLX*, acquired in the early days when I had a mania for Latin composition, an art in which Muretus was a past master. I soon tired of Muretus and his elegances. Justus Lipsius was more to my native bad taste. Perhaps I was prejudiced against Muretus because in one of his letters he warned young scholars against the art of dipping in which Andrew Lang was to shew himself such an adept, an art without which there would have been no joy in my own life. If some of my friends think that I have lost myself in *Brief Mention*, others are of the opinion that I have found myself there. And what else, pray, are Muretus' own 'Variae Lectiones'? Now apropos of the commonplace as to the divergent points of view, which I have been illustrating, one of Muretus' orations came up to my mind. Not long ago I was looking with undisguised horror at the Lusitania medal—horror heightened by the sight of the wonderful model of the boat, when I bethought me of the words in which Muretus extolled what some people still call the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. And this is the way in which the gentle humanist, who was capable of writing affectionate letters, almost deliquescent letters, to his young friends, spoke of that dreadful night: 'Qua nocte stellas euidem ipsas luxisse nitidius arbitror et flumen Sequanae maiores undas volvisse quo citius illa impurorum hominum cadavera evolveret et exoneraret in mare.' And then we are told not to believe in the wholesale butchery of the Peloponnesian War and taught to juggle with the Greek numerals.

There is an old story which in old days I loved to embroider for my intimates, that in a circle of devout Emersonians the hierophant read aloud a sentence in which the seer declared Chaucer to be the 'tar-pot' of English literature. The mystic word was variously interpreted by various members until one skeptical soul demanded to see the text wherein was written not 'tar-pot' but 'tap-root'. The same process goes on everywhere in exegesis. In the original context 'hitching one's wagon to a star' had reference to modern advance in mechanical science, though in Emerson the context makes little odds. I knew a lover of the Bible who found an exquisite touch in

Ezekiel's 'shadowing shroud' (31. 3); and doubtless there are many passages in the classics that are similarly misinterpreted. Pindar is a fine field, and I have recently been summoned to contemplate assaults old and new that have been made upon an exegesis of a text which I had made a pivot of Pindar's art (I. E. xxxvi), and which I thought so simple that I quoted my version of it quite as a matter of course in a popular magazine, P. 9, 82-3: *βαῖα δ' ἐν μακροῖσι ποικίλλειν ἀκοὰ σοφοῖς*. 'To broider a few things among many, that is a hearing for the wise'. To me *ἀκοά* was the equivalent of the *ἀκρόαμα* of a later day—'Ohrenschmaus' as the Germans call it. 'Hearing' no more requires an adjective than does 'sight' in the familiar saying 'a sight for sore eyes'. But since that day Wilamowitz, in his Hieron u. Pindaros, Szb. der k. Preuss. Ak. der Wiss., 1901, p. 200, has said in his emphatic way, 'Mit *ἀκοά* ist in keiner Richtung etwas anzufangen', and reads *ἀκόντα* after the notorious *ἀκόντας λύγυρᾶς* of O. 6, 82—a stone of stumbling to sundry critics who would fain read instead *ἀκοᾶς*, a stone of stumbling, which Wilamowitz has made the head of the corner. With his rare gift of turning Pindar's diamonds into homely carbon—by way, as I have suggested, of exposing Pindar's poverty of thought (A. J. P. XXXI 133)—he renders the whole passage thus: 'Von grossen Thaten ist es leicht lange zu erzählen; aber kleines auszuschmücken reizt (*ἀκόντα*) den guten Dichter, denn beide Male entscheidet der *καιρός*, das rechte Maass'. Wilamowitz's 'kleines' refers to the story of the bride of Apollo—no famous legend that ('nicht eben berühmt'). Another Pindaric scholar in a private letter also makes *βαῖα* refer to the 'fluffy stuff' out of which Pindar has woven the beautiful tale of the Huntress Queen, and translates 'Poets often hear it said that they embellish at inordinate length even matters of little import'. Wilamowitz does not translate *ἐν μακροῖσι*¹ unless 'aus-' in 'ausschmücken' be considered a translation. My correspondent takes it as equivalent to *διὰ μακρῶν*, and brings the saying into line with the familiar charge against the sophists, citing Plato, Phaedr. 268 c: *ἐπίσταται περὶ σμικροῦ πράγματος ρῆσεις παμπήκεις ποιεῖν*. Simonides was a forerunner of the sophists

¹ The equation *ἐν μακροῖσι*=*διὰ μακρῶν* is not substantiated by any example in EMILY HELEN DUTTON's Chicago Dissertation, an elaborate treatise of 202 pp., entitled *Studies in Greek Prepositional Phrases*, *διά*, *ἀπό*, *ἐκ*, *ἐλ*, *ἐν*. *ἐν δληγῷ* is there and *ἐν δληγούς*, not *ἐν μακροῖσι*. The subject of the Greek prepositions has interested me for many years, as the annals of the Journal testify, but except for a solitary reference *ἐλ κενὸν ξέραμον*, so far as Miss DUTTON is concerned. By the way, *ἐλ κενὸν* (Gal. 2, 2) is not in Miss DUTTON's lists, but it is only fair to add that the Greek of the N. T. is not within her purview. More surprising, however, is the omission of *διὰ πασῶν* which can only be accounted for on the theory that we have here a silent protest against the line 'the diapason closing full in man'. To be really valuable, all such collections should be exhaustive. And that is just the trouble.

and would have admitted the charge gladly. But Pindar never underrates his themes. *βαιά* here is simply *όλιγα* without any connotation of 'slight' common as that connotation is. There is no such connotation in Aeschyl. Pers. 1023 *βαιά γ' ὡς ἀπὸ πολλῶν*, nor in Ar. Ach. 2, *ἡσθην δὲ βαιά, πάνυ γε βαιά, τέτταρα*, nor in Σαπφοῦς *βαιά μὲν ἄλλὰ ρόδα*. In the early days of Pindaric interpretation, the national importance of the great games was not appreciated. In 1693 a French critic considered Greek athletes 'poor creatures', and it is no wonder that he construed the Pindaric passage somewhat as Wilamowitz has done:

Surquoy il faut se souvenir que nous avons dit auparavant, que Pindare avoit à louer des personnes qui pour l'ordinaire avoient si peu de mérite, qu'il n'y avoit rien à dire d'eux; Et qu'ainsi il falloit bien qu'il cherchast de la matière au dehors, sur laquelle il pût s'élever; parce que ces misérables Athlètes qu'il louoit, vouloient avoir des Odes fort longues pour leur argent. Et c'est en cela que paroît principalement l'artifice de Pindare, *de savoir*, comme il dit, *dire beaucoup de grandes choses sur de petits sujets*.

βαιά δ' ἐν μακροῖσι ποικίλλειν.

Ce qu'il appelle encore *l'effet d'un génie extraordinaire*.

ἀκοὰ σοφοῖς.

Blondel, Comparaison de Pindare et d'Horace. A Amsterdam, MDCLXXXIII, p. 59.

Pindar's own testimony to the greatness of the games, the greatness of their rewards and the limitation of the lyric art abounds. *μεγάλαι ἀρεταί* (P. 9, 76)¹ he calls the achievements of Blondel's 'miserable athletes'. *μάσσον' ἡ ὡς ἰδέμεν*, he cries (O. 13, 115). *μεγάλων δ' ἀέθλων Μοῖσα μεμνᾶσθαι φιλεῖ* (N. 1, 11). And as for *βαιά* Pindar himself, being like his own Aineas an *ἄγγελος ὄρθος*, a *σκυτάλα Μοισῶν* (O. 6, 91), fails like other messengers to tell all. *πολλῶν παρόντων ὅλιγ' ἀπαγγέλλω κακά*, says the messenger in the Persae 331 and so the Paidagogos in Soph. El. 688: *ἐν πολλοῖσι παῦρά σοι λέγω*. The lyric poet is always out of breath. He is a secretary of Apollo, one of the *ἐπειγόμενοι θεοί*. *βραχύ μοι στόμα*, he declares (N. 10, 18), *πάντ' ἀναγήσασθαι*, and in the same ode, v. 45: *μακροτέρας γὰρ ἀριθμῆσαι σχολᾶς*, and at the close of O. 13 bids himself swim with light feet out of this sea of glory. But why 'rattle citations' (A. J. P. XXIV 234)? Most important of all is the utterance: *μακρὰ δ' ἔξενέπειν ἐρύκει με τεθμός* (N. 4, 32), the *τεθμός* that commands him *βαιά . . . ἐν μακροῖσι ποικίλλειν*. So that I am not prepared to abandon an interpretation that has commended itself to so many lovers of Pindar, and one moreover to which I have committed myself again and again.

¹ So *μεγάλαι ἀλκαί*, N. 7, 12.

Of the shifting of the point of view, the divergence of attitude, on which I have been dwelling, there is no more striking illustration than that which is furnished by the interpretation of Pindar of which I have given a small sample. And as to the estimate of Pindar himself, two lively illustrations have fallen under my notice of late, which I will not consign to the wastebasket, the 'aeternum exilium' of so many *Brief Mentions*. I have recently made the acquaintance of a scholar who has long found that Pindar answers to every phase of life, every turn of social and literary intercourse, whereas the Dean of Barnard reviewing in happy mood her early classical studies remembers Pindar only as very difficult, thus recalling the criticism of the Atlantic Monthly, which thirty-odd years ago had only this to say about a work into which the writer had put much of his soul, 'The apparatus is extensive enough to give the moderate Greek scholar some hope of mastering this knotty author'—'knotty author' not 'love-knotty' poet. But this very divergence, this very shifting has in it a note of assurance for the perpetuity of our studies: 'Gerade in der Unendlichkeit', says Boeckh, 'liegt das Wesen der Wissenschaft. Wo die Unendlichkeit aufhört ist die Wissenschaft zu Ende'—and the infinite variety is made certain for all time by the infinite variety of that charm which no custom can stale and for which there are new customers, whether few or many, in every generation.

Reading not long ago the Electra of Sophocles, I was struck with the frequent occurrence of the word *φροντίν* and my thoughts went back to Professor KNAPP's article in the Journal, *A Point in the Interpretation of the Antigone of Sophocles* (A. J. P. XXXVII 300–316). In this article the author lays a great deal of stress on the recurrence of *φροντίν* in its bearing on the moot point of Antigone's responsibility. Now 'recurrent' has the same effect on my nerves as 'Deformed' on the nerves of Dogberry. Mezger made an organon of the recurrent word in his interpretation of Pindar, and I am reminded of battles long ago in which Pindaric scholars were hotly engaged (see my Pindar, I. E. 1 foll., A. J. P. II 497, XII 96, XV 506 al.). I have never set myself resolutely against the importance of the recurrent word. 'Cedendo victor abibis', as Ovid says of quite a different duel—'sans témoins et sans armes'. But the importance must not be exaggerated until it becomes a canon. Recurrence is determined sometimes impersonally as for instance in the favourite preposition business (A. J. P. XXIII 27), sometimes personally as in emotional passages. In the latter case the goddess Ποικιλία, to which rhetorical prose pays such homage (A. J. P. XXI 92, XXXV 231), has little

sway, rhythm much more. The plays of Sophocles in which the question of *φρόνησις* would naturally be prominent, take the lead in the number of *φρονεῖ*'s, if I may trust a rough count, in the following order—Ajax, which deals with the recovery of the hero from madness; the Antigone—for which Professor KNAPP may be consulted—followed close by the Oedipus Tyrannus, in which the wisdom of the wise is confounded; the Electra, in which we have a conflict between the practical sense of Chrysothemis and Klytaimestra and the ideal sense of the heroine. But what does all this amount to? Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh—which is the stately A. V. of Matt. 12, 34: ἐκ τοῦ περισσέματος τῆς καρδίας τὸ στόμα λαλεῖ, or in the racy language of Luther, which sometimes commends itself by its homely rendering of a homely text (A. J. P. XVI 127, XXII 107): Wes das Herz voll ist, des geht der Mund über. But one remembers that Our Lord is addressing a generation of vipers and not a swarm of harmless γωνιοβόμβυκες. To quote myself, as I often do unconsciously (A. J. P. XXXVI 482), 'No high poetry is exhausted by its recurrent burdens, its catch-words, its key verses', (I. E. lvii) and Fraccaroli has preached a sermon to the same effect (A. J. P. XV 507).

Some months ago I said with Job—whom I resemble in nothing except a long life and a tendency to tropical language—'I shall die in my nest' and my nest is built in the garden of the Anthology. To be sure, the pleasure of the garden is somewhat marred, as it was not in the summer of 1916, by the mopping and mowing conjectural critics that grin at one from the trenches of Stadtmüller's edition. Still the Anthology is a real pleasance full of varied enjoyment with flowers of all hue and <here and there> a rose. But my peaceful repose has been broken of late by raucous shouts of Thukydides and Euripides to whom I had said good-bye for ever so far as print goes. But these are war times. One must submit to 'extras'—and so I proceed to call attention to the appearance and give a general notion of the contents of several monographs, which in other days and at other hands might have received the consideration which they deserve. Here they are in the order in which they lie on my desk.

The subject of Professor MAURICE HUTTON's paper (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Vol. IX, 1916) is *Thucydides and History*. Professor HUTTON is a liegeman of Herodotus, as he has shewn on several occasions, and his testimony is therefore suspect. To him as to so many others,

Thucydides is the first scientific historian, yet not so severely scientific as not to be dramatic, and yet he echoes Mahaffy's 'sober truth' when he remarks that 'in recounting the butchery of Boeotian babes at the hands of the Thracians (VII 26) Thucydides' emotion is discernible only in the contortions and crabbedness of his syntax', a railing accusation for the chapter is simplicity itself.¹ One must thank Heaven that Professor HUTTON has not accounted for Thucydides' coldness by his Thracian blood as others have accounted for Thucydides' language by his Thracian environment (A. J. P. XXXIII 237). Many years ago Karl Blind claimed Thucydides as a German, and his praise of efficiency and his calm record of frightfulness will be charged to that score. Yet Thucydides actually deigns to add: *καὶ συμφορὰ τῇ πόλει πάσῃ οὐδεμίᾳ ἥσσων μᾶλλον ἐτέρας ἀδόκητός τε ἐπέπεσεν αὐτῇ καὶ δεινή*, whereas Herodotus, the kindly, who tells us of the falling of a roof which killed a hundred and nineteen children in Chios has not a sigh for their fate (VI 27). But much of the ground has recently been covered by my summary of Nestle (A. J. P. XXXVI 103 ff.). The modernism of Thucydides is a familiar theme in the English journals, and Professor HUTTON's paper is full of 'actualities' and full of reflexions. 'Professors and philosophers', says this representative of Our Lady of the Snows, 'are the worst of statesmen; they think that they can arrange the world with essays and lectures. They make bad Presidents'. But, as one who has been hard hit by some of the fashionable parallelisms of the newspapers, I decline to follow Professor HUTTON on this 'burning marble'. I am not prepared to accept the identification of the Southern cause in the Civil War with that of Prussian Junkerdom, and I have elsewhere made light of historical parallels.

And now for Euripides. 'Ecce iterum Crispinus adest', I am constrained to cry, and Aristophanes would have joined me in calling him the 'cobbler poet', if he had read Juvenal and been acquainted with Christian hagiology. Euripides—once more—nay, thrice more. First comes *A study of Archaism in Euripides* by a young Ph. D. of Columbia, Dr. MANNING. Of course *Archaism in Euripides* means nothing more than a Return to Aischylos—not an unfamiliar theme. There is no going back beyond Aischylos, no possibility of restoring the ἀρχαιομελισιδωνοφρυνιχήρατα of Aischylos' forerunner Phrynicos, and the best thing about Thespis is the epigram in the Anthol-

¹ A better illustration of the correspondence between style and content will be found A. J. P. XVII 126, where it is said that one might attribute the peculiar twists and turns of the speech of the Mytileneans, Thuk. III, to the embarrassment of the traitorous allies of the Athenians.

ogy.¹ 'Archaic' has somehow a more formidable sound than old-fashioned. Perhaps Mid-Victorian might serve. When the critics woke up to the fact that Mr. Maemaster, born in 1852, was walking in the footsteps of Macaulay (b. 1800), no one called him archaic. Euripides was on any count little more than forty years younger than Aischylos, and brought out a play shortly after the Oresteia, the performance of which he must have witnessed. There is a double strain in Euripides, as we all know, and one is inclined to set down some of his archaisms to his aristocratic mother, Kleito. That he was not averse to the sonorities of Aischylos is strikingly shewn by Aiakos in the Frogs, in whose speech one might well have suspected a parody of Aischylos, but, as the Scholiast tells us, it is a burlesque of Euripides. The language of tragedy is a composite affair and Tycho Mommsen—who strangely enough is not cited by Dr. MANNING—has written an interesting chapter on what a wicked person might call the *sartago loquendi* of Euripides. The syntax of Euripides is now the syntax of the agora, now it is hyperepic. He misuses the terminal accusative damnably, whereat Aristophanes protests—but for that matter Sophokles overdoes the whence-case genitive and stretches the feminine negative. Euripides' harking back to the trochaic tetrameter of Aischylos is an old story. It is characteristic of the bookish poet that he studied Aischylos in his antre vast, where he doubtless kept his library. It is characteristic of his scornful spirit that he disdained to learn of Sophokles; characteristic of Sophokles' serene wisdom that he did not disdain to learn of his younger rival. But I am impatient to get back to my pleached bower of the Anthology in which I have taken refuge from these Tophetic times—and I am afraid that what I have written already may do injustice to Dr. MANNING, who has pushed the lines of his investigation farther than his authorities. But I dare not take up the chapters seriatim, lest I should tax the Journal as I did in the much to be regretted discourse on Paulus. Here at all events there will be no 'Paulo maiora canamus' nor any *βαιὰ ἐν μακροῖσι ποικίλλειν*.

In his paper on the *Ethics of Euripides* (an off-print from Woodbridge's Archives of Philosophy May, 1916) Mr. RHYS CARPENTER begins with a quotation from Pindar τὸ δὲ φύη κράτιστον ἄπαν (O. 9, 107) which he translates 'Nature's way is ever the strongest and best' and then ashamed, as so many are, to quote Pindar, he adds 'Like much of his teaching the

¹ A. P. VII. 410 (Dioskorides). It ends with an expansion of Pindar's ἄπαν εὐρόντος ἔργον: μυρίος αἰών | πολλὰ προσευρήσει χάττερα τάμαδες.

aphorism has more strength than originality'. The same thing might be said of Plato's *τὰ ἀντοῦ πράττειν*, of the Stoic Doctrine 'Follow Nature.' To me Pindar, Plato and Persius are bound each to each by natural piety—not artificial parechesis. And despite Mr. CARPENTER's disparagement of Pindar as a thinker, it appears that poor Pindar's gnome is 'the keynote of Euripides' morality', and that 'the logical concept is quite as dominant there as in Greek sculpture'.

In the *Harvard Studies* of 1916 Dr. ARISTIDES EVANGELUS PHOUTRIDES maintains the thesis that far from causing the degeneracy of the Greek stage by his handling of the choral parts, Euripides has done his utmost to invest the chorus with its due significance. Another return to Aischylos—and the way of the return is paved with statistics. But I must hie me back to my garden, and as for the discussion of Thukydides and Euripides *τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἐν Αἰδον τοῖς κάτω μυθήσομαι* for there must be an end some day to this autobiography, as a friend has dubbed *Brief Mention*.

Long before the present generation of grammarians came to the front, I had settled down to a view of the Greek historical present which seemed to satisfy the aesthetic conditions of usage. See my Indiculus Syntacticus s. v. A. J. P. XXXVI 485 to which add XX 228. The historical present, I said to myself, belongs to the cave-man period of language before there were any tenses, properly so-called, when there was only nothing but what is termed nowadays 'Aktionsart'.¹ This 'Aktionsart' answered all the purposes of past, present and future. But this loose use made it hard for the cave-man to pin his fellow down, and so a past tense was evolved, and what we call the historical present was relegated to the primitive sphere which continued to live on after 'Pyrrha sub antro' became a lady. Present for past became vulgar. Hence, I said, it is not found in Homer nor in the high lyric of Pindar. It had free course in the drama, resumed its rights in prose (A. J. P. XIV 480). As for Latin, the hot Italian blood never had any scruples (A. J. P. XIV 105). But in the absence of exhaustive statistics (A. J. P. XXIII 240), the behaviour of the historical present in English forbade formulation, though I have recorded here and there certain impressionistic statements as to its range in spoken English, in idiomatic English (XXIX 393). Now the lack of statistics has been supplied in a measure by Mr. J. M.

¹ Repudiated by Stahl, A. J. P. XXIX 389; comp. XXXVII 113.

STEADMAN in his treatise, *The Origin of the Historical Present in English* (Studies in Philology XIV University of N. C.)—and I append his results.

1. The historical present does not occur in Old English.
2. It occurs in the Latin writings of Englishmen of the eighth-eleventh centuries.
3. The historical present is consistently and repeatedly avoided in translating from Latin into Old English.
4. This use of the present appeared in written English at the beginning of the thirteenth century; it became fairly common before the end of the century; and by the end of the fourteenth century was used with the greatest freedom.

The question is very much complicated by the fact that our early literature is very largely a literature of translation and Mr. STEADMAN's title is disappointing, for he passes in review a number of theories but decides on none. Of course, as will appear from my previous discussions of the subject, I naturally inclined to Jespersen's view that the historical present has a native basis in English also—a native use which I supposed to be fostered by translation from Latin, for which we have a parallel in the literary use of the Latin infinitive, influenced in like manner by translation from Greek (A. J. P. XVII 520). But Mr. STEADMAN's statistics are disillusioning, so far as O. E. is concerned, unless one assumes that in O. E. the historical present was felt to be too vulgar for translation from the Latin.

W. P. M.: *Francisci Barbari De Re Uxorii Liber*. Nuova edizione per cura di ATTILIO GNESOTTO. Padova: G. B. Randi, 1915. 105 pp. This is an excellent edition of the famous treatise on marriage written by the Venetian scholar and statesman Francesco Barbaro. It was written in the winter of 1415–16. The author was only about 17 years old, but thanks to two of his teachers, Zaccaria Trevisan and Guarino Guarini, he could draw upon all the wisdom of the ancients. One specially interesting fact is his familiarity with Plutarch—a fact which ought to be added to the store of learning in Professor HIRZEL'S recent book (A. J. P. XXXIV 117). Two other classical writers who are very freely used are Cicero and Virgil. The borrowings of word or phrase are regularly indicated in the notes, though the editor seems to have overlooked a couple of bits of Virgil. ‘Justissima tellus’, p. 1, l. 9, comes from Geor. II 460, and the expression ‘usque adeo in teneris assuecere multum est’, p. 75, l. 17, from Geor. II 272.

ERRATA.

XXXVIII 46, l. 10, for ‘origin’ read ‘original’. 55, l. 7, for ‘favoured’ read ‘flavoured’. 70, l. 11, for ‘the children of thy youth’ read ‘children of the youth’. 70, l. 2 from bottom, after ‘aor.’ insert ‘inf’.

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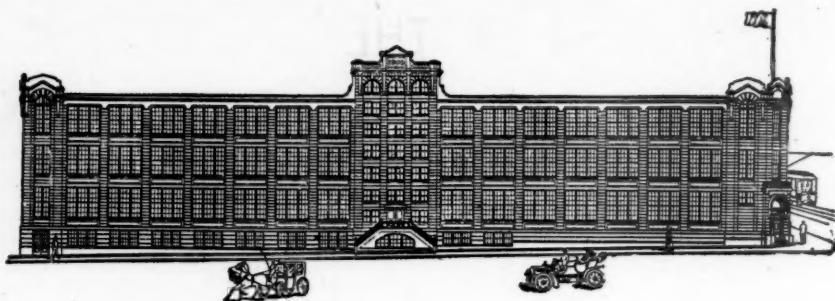
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